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EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF  
CÆSAREA, ON THE  
THEOPHANA OR DIVINE  
MANIFESTATION OF OUR  
LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS  
CHRIST

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by  
Of Caesarea Eusebius

Forgotten Books

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## EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF CÆSAREA, ON THE THEOPHANA OR DIVINE MANIFESTATION OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST

*by*

Of Caesarea Eusebius

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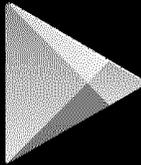
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EUSEBIUS

BISHOP OF CÆSAREA

ON

THE THEOPHANIĀ

OR

DIVINE MANIFESTATION

OF

OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST,

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH WITH NOTES, FROM AN ANCIENT SYRIAC  
VERSION OF THE GREEK ORIGINAL NOW LOST;

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

A VINDICATION OF THE ORTHODOXY, AND PROPHETICAL VIEWS,  
OF THAT DISTINGUISHED WRITER.

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INSCRIBED BY PERMISSION TO

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND,  
CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

---

By SAMUEL LEE, D.D.

D.D. OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE; MEMBER OF THE SOCIÉTÉ ASIATIQUE  
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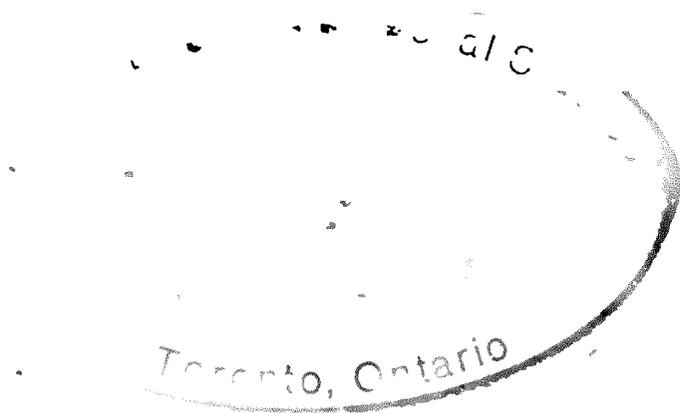
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TO HIS GRACE  
HUGH DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND,

*&c. &c. &c.*

CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE,

THIS ENDEAVOUR TO RESTORE TO THE

**Christian Church**

A LONG LOST WORK,

AND TO VINDICATE THE OPINIONS, OF ONE OF ITS  
MOST LEARNED AND LABORIOUS PRELATES,

IS,

IN TESTIMONY OF A DEEP SENSE OF OBLIGATION  
FOR THE MANY MUNIFICENT FAVOURS  
CONFERRED ON THE UNIVERSITY,  
IN WHICH HE HAS THE HONOUR OF BEARING OFFICE,  
BY HIS GRACE'S PERMISSION,  
MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY

THE TRANSLATOR AND EDITOR.



## PREFACE.

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HAVING now to discharge the very agreeable duty of presenting to the Christian Church (in a translation), a long lost work of one of its most learned and laborious Pastors, my first duty will be, to give the best account I can of this Work ; my second, to describe the Manuscript from which it has been taken ; my third, to lay down the principles by which I have been guided, both in editing the Syriac text of this Manuscript, and in making and illustrating my English Translation of it. When I shall have done these things, I shall,—because some of the opinions of my author have been brauded as heretical, and some others will in all probability be considered as groundless and untenable, I mean those which contain his views on Prophecy,—give as brief and candid a review of these opinions as I can : leaving it to the reader to make the conclusions for himself, which he shall deem right and just.

I am well aware of the responsibility attaching itself to an undertaking so perilous, as that of offering to the learned of Europe, for the first time, a work coming from a man so learned, so celebrated, and so often eulogized and condemned, as was the Bishop of Cæsarea and Father of Church History. But, for the purpose of satisfying this responsibility to the best of my power, I now proceed, in the first place, to give all the account I can of the Work which I have the honour and pleasure of presenting to the public.

The first, and probably the only, mention of this Work which occurs in any ancient Father of the Church, is to be found in the catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers<sup>1</sup> by

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<sup>1</sup> Otherwise styled, The lives of illustrious men, “*Vitæ illustrium virorum.*”

Jerome. And in this, all that this Father says,—after speaking of some of Eusebius's other works,—is, “*θεοφανείας libri quinque*,” i. e. Of the Divine Manifestation, five books. After him, Suidas says “*θεοφανείας λόγοι έ,*” which is a mere echo of the words of Jerome. Harles, in his edition of the Bibliotheca Græca of Fabricius, speaks of it in this manner. (Vol. vii. p. 408). “*Ευαγγελικη θεοφανεια, bis citatur in catena in Lucam in cod. Vindobon. cæsareo xlii., teste Lambecio comment. tom. iii. p. 166. not. 4. conf. supra nr. 8. Harl*” “*Fragmentum ex Eusebii opere deperd. Theophania Evang. e cod. Coislin. Gott. 1740. 4*”. And again, p. 395, nr. 8, speaking of the work of our author against Marcellus, he says: “*Hos quinque Libros adversus Marcellum Labbeus putat innui ab Hieronymo in Catalogo cap. 81. et Suida, quando inter Eusebii Scripta memorat libros quinque περι θεοφανείας. Videtur enim hoc idem illi esse quod θεολογίας. Sed id tamquam incertum omitto, quum Hebed Jesu quoque in catalogo Librorum Chaldaicorum memorat Eusebii librum de ortu divino.*”

The Catalogue of Hebed Jesu, here referred to, will be found in the Bibliotheca Orientalis of Asseman, tom. iii. pt. 1, and the place in p. 18 of this: where, after speaking of the Ecclesiastical History of our author, Hebed Jesu says, *ⲗⲁⲛⲁ ⲗⲁⲛⲁ ⲗⲁⲛⲁ ⲗⲁⲛⲁ*, i. e. *and the Book on the Divine Manifestation*. Asseman refers us, in a note, to Cave's *Historia Literaria*, p. 95, where mention is made of this work of Eusebius, entitled *περι θεοφανείας, libri quinque*; but Cave tells us nothing more about it, than that it is a work not now extant.

But the thing most worthy of remark here, is Asseman's referring us to Cave at all; when, if the work had existed in the Library of the Vatican, he would, in all probability, as he has done in many other places, have given us a detailed description of it. It may be added that, although Asseman has given us very extensive lists, in this work, of

Syriac books deposited in the Vatican, he has never once spoken of this as being there. And the same might be said, with respect to the present very learned librarian of the Vatican, who has, in his erudite and laborious work entitled, “*Scriptorum Veterum nova Collectio*,” said much, and edited some works, of Eusebius, and even given several fragments from our *Theophania*; yet he has nowhere informed us, that either the Greek text, or the Syriac version, of this Work is to be found there. I may perhaps conclude therefore, that it is not *known* to exist in that library.

The Citations as noted above in Fabricius, will be found in the following Work, pages 216, 321-2. The Fragment printed at Gottingen in 1740, also mentioned by him, will be either reprinted or noticed hereafter in this Work, if it can be obtained before the last sheet goes to press.

It must be evident, I think, from what has now been said, that the work of our author entitled *the Ecclesiastical Theology*, noticed above, could not be the same with that entitled the *Theophania*, or *Evangelical Theophania*,—for by this latter title is our Work designated in the *Catena* of Vienna:—while it must be equally certain, that a work by Eusebius bearing the title assigned to it by Jerome, did exist in the Syrian Church: and, as no reason can perhaps be assigned why the Syrians should forge such a work, it is probable, that this is the very work so described by Jerome.

Again, from the fragments of this Work hitherto brought to our notice, (see the places referred to above,) it seems sufficiently certain, that this is the work of Eusebius so described by Jerome. I would add, let the reader also examine in the following pages, the very many places marked as corresponding word for word, with several in the undoubted productions of our author. In our Second Book, for example, a very considerable number of the Sections or Paragraphs, are found to be identically the same with many

occurring in the “Oratio de laudibus Constantini:” while in our Fifth Book, the far greater part is also found word for word in the “Demonstratio Evangelica;” not to insist on several others, found either in the “Præparatio Evangelica,” the Ecclesiastical History, or some other work of our author, as shewn in the Notes.

There are also certain peculiarities in the writings of Eusebius which may be mentioned here; they are these: It is customary with him, though not constantly, to commence a subsequent book with the matter, and occasionally with the words, which closed the preceding one. The close and commencement of the First and Second, and of the Second and Third books, respectively, of the “Præparatio Evangelica” will supply examples of this; as will the corresponding ones of our following Work, and more particularly those of the Fourth and Fifth.

To this may be added the Style of Eusebius, which is universally allowed to be any thing but simple and obvious. His periods are often long, and his style both inverted and involved. He seems moreover, to have been studious to avoid the language in common use, and often to have betaken himself to that peculiar to the poets. This latter consideration could not have affected our original text, which is only a translation; while the former has, to a very considerable extent. For our Translator, anxious to shew himself faithful in the discharge of this his duty, has so closely followed his original by endeavouring to render it word for word, that his translation may occasionally be considered as obscurity personified; the Syriac very ill admitting of either inversion, or involution, of style. Several instances of this sort,—to which many more might have been added,—will be found in the Notes attached to the English Translation.

Another consideration is, his Platonic manner of speaking of the Deity as a *self-existing Being*, and with reference to which, no other can be said (properly) to exist,

of which we shall speak more particularly a little farther on. His manner of speaking of the Son has too its peculiarities; His being *God of God, begotten of God, proceeding from the Father*; hence *complete, and in all respects like Him*; His having *ever been, and still being, with, and in, the Father*; extending Himself nevertheless throughout all things, and meekly lowering Himself to converse with men, and the like; which will be more particularly noticed hereafter. His occasional allusions moreover to the things passing under his own eyes, as the sufferings of the Martyrs (p. 50); the state of the Church of Cæsarea over which he presided, may all be considered, I think, as genuine evidences that Eusebius was the author of this Work; and to these may be added his reasoning generally after the manner of Plato, and in many instances, his adopting the terms used by that philosopher.

From these considerations, I think it must be sufficiently evident, that our Work is a copy of the genuine Greek work of Eusebius, so long lost. But if not, let it be supposed for a moment that it is a forgery, and that some Syrian was the author of it, who, the better to secure its reception, attached the name of Eusebius to it. I would now ask, Where are we to look for the man, among the writers of the Syrian Church, equal to this task? Philoxenus of Mabug, and Jacob of Edessa<sup>1</sup>, had, no doubt, ability sufficient to compose a work on the same subject; but neither of them,

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<sup>1</sup> If we may rely on the date of our MS. however, presently to be noticed, this Translation must have existed long before the times of either of these writers.—It is worth remarking too, that not only was this work written long before the appearance of Mohammed, but, the MS. itself was written nearly 200 years before he was born!—which may be considered as supplying tolerably good matter for proof, that no expectation was then entertained of the coming of such a Teacher as he was, or that the Scriptures underwent any alteration afterwards for the purpose of opposing him. This argument has been stated more at length in the latter part of my “Martyn’s Persian Controversies.”

nor yet any other Syrian writer, of which I have any knowledge, had any thing like the vigour and learning evinced in this. Much less likely is it, that in such an attempt the Syriac language would have been subjected to the unnatural contortions and involutions so visible in this Work, or that it would be found to have copied Eusebius word for word, to the extent noticed above.

Nor is it in any degree probable, that such an imposition could ever have been practised upon the learned of the Syrian Church. Besides, the original of the *Theophania* must have been in existence when this Syriac work first made its appearance, and indeed for a long time after; which would have effectually given the lie to any attempt of this sort had it been made. And to this, its unquestioned reception in the Syrian Church, affords full and sufficient testimony.

Having then disposed of this question, let us now approach our second, which is to give some account of the Manuscript from which our Work has been taken.

Sometime in the year 1839, the Rev. Henry Tattam of Bedford, who is an excellent Coptic scholar, formed the resolution of visiting Egypt for the purpose of procuring Coptic manuscripts, in order to complete, if possible, an edition of the Coptic Scriptures. At the suggestion of his friends a subscription was set on foot, for the purpose of assisting in defraying the expense of this undertaking, and this subscription was headed by a contribution of £300. by government. Individuals contributed to a small extent: and Mr. Tattam accordingly set out for Egypt. In a short time he returned, having procured some good Coptic manuscripts, of which a list has been printed and circulated; and also about 50 volumes of Syriac manuscripts<sup>1</sup>, some of which were of an extreme age, and very valuable.

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<sup>1</sup> These he purchased at the monastery of the Blessed Virgin in the desert of Nitria (or Askit. The Cœnobium Scetense of Asseman.).

These manuscripts Mr. Tattam sent to me, with the request that I would give him some account of their contents; and, at the same time, say what I thought their value might be: which I did as soon as my other engagements would allow. It was in looking over these manuscripts that I had the extreme pleasure of discovering that of which the following Work is a translation. Knowing then, as I did, the extreme rarity of this Work; in other words, that no other copy of it *was known to exist*, I requested Mr. Tattam to allow me to take a copy of it before it should leave my hands, in order that the *Work* might not be lost, whatever might happen to this MS. Mr. Tattam, with the disinterestedness for which he is so remarkable, instantly gave his consent, allowing me moreover to retain the MS. as long as I might want it: and, although he soon after disposed of the collection generally to the trustees of the British Museum, he was so obliging as to make this stipulation, that I should be allowed to retain this MS. as long as I might deem it necessary.

My first business now was, to make a correct copy of this very rare and valuable Codex, as far as our work was

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situated on the west of the Nile, and somewhat more than 80 miles from Cairo. Asseman visited this Monastery in 1715, when he tells us its Library did not contain more than about 200 Volumes. Of these he requested to have a hundred, but could not get more than nine or ten good authors, with a few others. (Bibl. Orient. Tom. i. Pref.) But in his Catalogue of the "Codices Nitrienses," *ib.* pp. 561—572, he gives an account of 34 Codices. Some of which were perhaps obtained on a former occasion by his Cousin Elias (*ib.*); from which, according to Peter Benedict their Editor and Translator, were the Works of Ephrem Syrus published at Rome, in 1737—43. I am greatly rejoiced to find, that Mr. Tattam has just returned from *a second visit* to this same Monastery, and has brought with him another collection of Syriac Manuscripts, from which, I trust, much valuable matter will be extracted and brought before the public.—It is evident that many of the MSS. brought to England by Mr. Tattam, had passed through the hands of Asseman, from certain marks found in them: and this I think is true of ours, as certain pencil-marks are found in it, which could hardly have been placed there by an Oriental.

concerned; and I accordingly copied it out myself with all the expedition I could command. Soon after I had done this, I applied to the Society lately established in the Metropolis for printing Oriental Texts, requesting they would print it, and thus multiply the copies, so as to ensure the safety and permanency of the work. To this request the Committee of that society very graciously acceded. The work was accordingly put to press, and printed by Mr. Richard Watts, a tradesman long and well known for his ability in printing Oriental works generally<sup>1</sup>. In his hands it had moreover the advantage of being printed in a Syriac type, which was made some years ago under my own inspection, for the purpose of printing a Syriac Bible for the use of the Syrian churches in Malabar. I will add here, that during the passing of the sheets through the press, I collated every one of them with the MS., so that I do trust the Syriac text, now some time completed, will be found as neatly and correctly printed, as the greatest care on the part of both the editor and printer could be expected to insure.

The MS. containing our Work, is very neatly written in the Estrangelo, or old Church-hand-writing of the Syrians, on very fine and well prepared skin. It is of the size of large quarto, each folio measuring about  $14\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $11\frac{1}{2}$ , and containing three columns each of the width of  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches, as may be seen in the fac simile prefixed to this Work. The exterior margins average  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in width, the interior  $1\frac{1}{2}$ ; and the space between the several columns is about  $\frac{5}{8}$  of an inch. The MS. contains 245 folios; 71 of the first of which contain a Syriac translation of the Recognitions of St. Clement, as they are called. The 83

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<sup>1</sup> London, printed for the Society for the publication of Oriental Texts, sold by James Madden and Co., 8, Leadenhall-street. 1842. To this I prefixed a short Preface, referring the reader to the more ample one intended to go forth with this Work.



*of Edessa of Mesopotamia, by the hands of a man named Jacob, in the year seven hundred and twenty and three, (and) was completed in the month of the latter Teshrin.*" (February). And, just as that which was written there, I have also written here without addition. And the things which are here, I wrote in the year 1398, in the (æra) of the Greeks (i. e. the Seleucidæ).

If then we are to take the first of these dates, as given in the æra of the Seleucidæ, and this Note as containing a true statement respecting the age of our MS., A. D. 411 will be its date, and its age 1432 years! The date of this Note is, we are told, that of the Greeks (or Seleucidæ), that is, A. D. 1398, corresponding to A. D. 1086, just 757 years ago, when, as its author tells us, this manuscript was such as to merit the appellation of *ancient*!

I was once inclined to think that our MS. could not be so old as this first date made it, and that the year 723, must be that of our common æra; which would give 1120 years for its age; and that this, both from the appearance of the MS., and from some other considerations, was nearer the truth. Yet I must confess, as I have never seen, or heard of, a Syriac MS. bearing a date in our common æra; and, as all Syriac MSS. said to be written at Edessa, do,—as far as I know,—always bear date according to the æra of the Seleucidæ; I do not see how this date can be given in our common æra.

As to the appearance of the MS., although it certainly is in very perfect and clean condition, yet as the climate of Egypt, in which it has been kept probably for many centuries, is extremely dry, it is by no means impossible that the fresh appearance of the MS. is anything more than the nature of the case requires. There certainly are MSS. in the same collection bearing a date, making them but little short of 1300 years old, and yet appearing in quite as sound a state of preservation as this does, but which, as written on

skins of a description greatly inferior to this, do not present so clean and bright an appearance. Asseman too, gives us an account of a Syriac MS. of a gospel, preserved in the library of the Vatican, which was written in the year of our Lord 78<sup>1</sup>: and this he affirms was, in his day,—about 100 years ago,—as plain and perfect as ever it was.

From this it should seem, that it is impossible to say how long a MS. written on good skin and well preserved may endure; and consequently, how unsafe it is to pronounce positively on the age of any MS., merely from its appearance. The colour of the ink must in all such MSS. as Montfaucon and others have well remarked, necessarily have faded; but to what precise extent, it must, as before, remain undefined for many reasons. The ink in our MS. is so faded though not, I think, to so great an extent as is observable in the Beza MS. at Cambridge. But this might have been occasioned by the place, or manner, in which that MS. was preserved, which was apparently less favourable than that of ours. This question therefore, I am disposed to leave in the state of uncertainty, in which I found it.

I said, in my Preface to the Syriac edition of our Work, that the MS. from which it was taken was, probably not less than *a thousand years old*. I was not then aware that

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<sup>1</sup> Assemani. Bibl. Orient. Tom. II. p. 486. His words are: “*Erat quoddam Evangelium Edessenum (hoc est Syriacum Edessæ exaratum) pervetustam quidem, sed clarum ac dilucidum, ex quo ne jota quidem unum deletum fuerat, legebatur autem clarius quàm libri recens exarati, et unus dumtaxat prior quinternio præ antiquitate ex eo exciderat. Ad ejus vero calcem ita scriptum erat.*” (I omit the Syriac, and give Asseman’s translation of it.) “*Absolutus est sanctus iste liber Feria quinta, die 18. Canun prioris (hoc est, Decembris) Anno Græcorum 389. (Christi 78.) propria manu Achæi Apostoli, socii Mar Maris Discipuli Mar Adæi Apostoli, cujus Oratio nobiscum sit Amen.*” If any reliance is to be placed on this document, it will follow, that this Syriac Gospel (and it does not say which Gospel is meant) was translated from the Greek probably before the death of the last Evangelist!

a date was to be found in it. I am not sorry however to find, that I had greatly underrated its age, as this must be a good evidence to my readers, that I had no disposition to exaggerate.

It may be suggested however, that this very early date might be that of the MS. from which it, or some other prior to it, was copied: it being no uncommon thing with copyists to transcribe, with MSS. which they copy, their dates also; so that a MS. of very modern date, may, in its epigraph, carry with it one of the highest antiquity. To this I would answer: If we are to ascribe any credit to the Note given above, this MS. must have been considered an *ancient one* 757 years ago: and to such a MS. we cannot, perhaps, ascribe an age less than 600 or 700 years: if we take the least of these, the age of our Codes will be 1357 years: if the greatest, 1457: while the date, actually ascribed to it by the Note, makes it 1432 years old, just *twenty-five* years less than this last computation would make.

There are however some considerations, which would at first sight seem to prove the contrary, and which indeed operated forcibly on my mind in this way, when the very early date given to our MS. first occurred to me: they are these: First, Eusebius died about A. D. 340. If then our MS. was written A. D. 411, this must have happened 71 years only after the death of the author of the original Greek work. We shall now have therefore 71, or a few more years, for the period within which our Syriac translation was made, and, as it appears to me, must have been copied<sup>1</sup> out several times

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<sup>1</sup> My reason for this opinion is grounded on the fact, that many of the proper names found in this MS. are so deformed by the mistakes of the Copyists, as to make it extremely probable that many Copies had been made from the Translator's Autograph, before our Copy was written: e. g. p. 71, we have ܡܠܟܘܬܪܘܕܘܢ. *Malkuthrudun*, for *Μελικάρθος* or *Μελκάθαρον*: p. 120, ܡܘܕܝܘܫ, for ܡܘܕܝܘܫܝܢ, *Omadius*: p. 121, ܘܠܡܥܘܢܝܬܝܟܘܢ, for ܘܠܡܥܘܢܝܬܝܟܘܢ, *Sanchoniatio*: p. 123, ܡܘܕܝܘܫܝܢ, for ܡܘܕܝܘܫܝܢ, *Omadius*.

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son plural is rather of the Hebrew, than the Syriac, form<sup>3</sup>. The pronominal forms, ܘܢܝܢܐ, ܘܢܝܢܐ<sup>4</sup>, never occur in the language of Edessa; nor does the adverbial ܐܘܪܝܢܐ<sup>5</sup>, nor the impersonal ܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܐܘܪܝܢܐ<sup>6</sup>, nor the combination ܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܐܘܪܝܢܐ, in the sense of *immediately*, nor the occasional redundancy, and even defect, of the relative pronoun ܐܘܪܝܢܐ, as far as my knowledge goes: all of which will be found marked in the Notes. I am therefore inclined to believe, that our translation was not made at Edessa, but in Palestine.

The language of this translation,—allowing for the instances just mentioned,—appears to me to be the purest Syriac<sup>7</sup>, and such as might be well expected in a work of so ancient a date. I have already remarked, that its order is very greatly inverted, and its collocation involved, from its having been made servilely to follow the Greek original. Of this any one will satisfy himself, by comparing any of its sections with the places pointed out, as found in Greek, in some of the still existing works of Eusebius: which,—although it has had the effect of giving me a great deal of trouble, as it will any reader of the Syriac text,—is nevertheless a circumstance of infinite value in other respects; and particularly, as it has preserved to our times a most *exact copy* of an original Greek work of our author, which has, no doubt, been long ago lost.

There is another advantage arising from the circumstance of so much of this work's being still found in the

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<sup>3</sup> ܐܘܪܝܢܐ, not ܐܘܪܝܢܐ as in the Syriac of Edessa. Heb. אֲנִינִי. Chald. אֲנִינִי.

<sup>4</sup> For, ܘܢܝܢܐ, ܘܢܝܢܐ.

<sup>5</sup> Usually ܐܘܪܝܢܐ.

<sup>6</sup> For ܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܐܘܪܝܢܐ.

<sup>7</sup> It partakes in no respect of the corrupt dialect, termed by Adler "Hierosolymitana," as noticed in his work on the Syriac Versions of the Scriptures, and as found in a MS. discovered by him in the Library of the Vatican.

Greek of its author, which is this; we are hence enabled to judge of the extent of Greek learning possessed by the translator. And this, I am induced to believe, was very considerable. I have pointed out in my notes, some instances in which I think he has erred; I am nevertheless bound to say, that I believe his translation to be, upon the whole, quite as accurate as are the best translations hitherto published of the Greek works of Eusebius.

It has been stated above, that our MS. is written neatly and correctly for the most part, and in the ancient character termed Estranghelo. I have now to say that it is entirely without vowel marks, and that the interpunctuation is frequently such, as to supply nothing whatever towards a just conception of the construction of the text. That the Syrians had a system of interpunctuation answering, in some respects, to that afforded by the accents of the Hebrew Bible, I have no doubt; yet I must say, that hitherto this has not been satisfactorily developed. Mr. Ewald has indeed endeavoured to do this, in a work published at Gottingen in 1832, entitled “Abhandlungen zur Orientalischen und Biblischen Literatur;” in which, at p. 103 and following, he has treated on the “accentuationssystem” of the Syrians according to some MSS. found in the Royal Library at Paris; and this, I have no doubt, he has done with all good fidelity. Yet I must say, the system made out by him, receives but very little countenance from any ancient MS. hitherto seen by me. The older writers seem to have adopted a system much more simple, and less encumbered with marks; the more modern ones, particularly the Maronites,—to whom we owe the interpunctuation of the greater Polyglotts,—appear to me to be the real authors of his system. However this may be, all I have done in printing our Syriac text has been, to follow the MS. as closely as *I possibly could*; I say this, because cases occur in which it is *scarcely possible* to say, whether the Copyist intended the

point to stand on the line of the text, above it, or below it. Some remarks will be found, in my notes, on the use of Ribbui, (") the mark commonly attending the plural number in nouns, and occasionally in verbs, in which our MS. seems to be singular. In this case too, I have rigidly adhered to the MS.

The rules, under which I have proceeded in making my translation from the Syriac, are the following. As I professed to undertake the office of a translator, and not of a commentator, I thought it right to confine myself as closely to my original, as the nature of the case and my best endeavours would enable me. If therefore, I have followed my original as closely as I could, I trust I have not done this to such a degree, as to have made my English either harsh, or difficult of apprehension. Where I found the Syriac greatly obscure, I generally added a note, and referred to the Greek, if accessible. And, for the better understanding of the mind of my author, I have occasionally pointed out parallel passages occurring in the Fathers, who were either prior to him, and therefore probably imitated by him, as Justin Martyr, Theophilus of Antioch, Tatian, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, and others; or, who succeeded him, particularly Theodoret, who was evidently a great imitator of him. I have also cited such passages from the classical, and other writers, as my author either referred to, or commented upon, as Herodotus, Thucydides, Diogenes Laertius, Plato, Aristotle, Josephus and others; which cost me much time and trouble. I did not however deem it necessary to make a collation of all, or of any, of the Greek or Latin Fathers for this purpose: all I have done, or intended to do, was, to mark down such coincidences as occurred generally in my reading, during the time in which I was engaged in this work. Many other similar passages might doubtless be found in the writings of the Fathers of the Church, and particularly in Justin

Martyr, Tatian, Tertullian, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, Arnobius, Lactantius, Chrysostom, and Theodoret, which I leave to the greater industry and time of others, who may choose to follow out the enquiry. Such illustrations and notes as are given on the Syriac text, were intended for the use of students who may be induced to read that work. I trust I have, in this way, provided a very useful Chrestomathy for the advancement of Syriac literature.

The divisions, *i. e.* the paragraphs, or sections, which I have made in my text, both of the Syriac Edition, and of my English Translation, are in all respects exactly what I found them in the MS. I have however added numerals for the purpose of facilitating reference, either from the Syriac Text to my Translation, or from either of these to the original Syriac Manuscript. I might indeed have made a more equal distribution of these paragraphs or sections, but I thought it would be best, for the reasons just now given, to abide by the old one. I thought too, that, if the original Greek should be discovered hereafter, it might be as well not to alter this division of the text,—particularly as it is one of a very ancient date,—for the purpose of affording the fullest opportunity for seeing what its ancient state was, and thence the more easily to verify the identity of such work, should it indeed ever be found.

I will now add a few remarks on the Work itself, and as to the period at which it was probably written. I think I may say, that the Work itself is worthy of the piety and learning of the deservedly celebrated Father of Church History. As a brief exposition of Christianity, particularly of its *Divine authority*, and *amazing influence*, it has perhaps never been surpassed. The work of Theodoret, entitled “*Græcarum affectionum curatio*,” lately reprinted by Dr. Gaisford, is certainly more full on the particular points which it was intended to illustrate: but then it owes much to the industry and learning of our author, and is less comprehensive in its

context. The *Stromateis* of Clemens of Alexandria, and the “*Civitas Dei*,” of Augustine, are perhaps more abundant on particular questions; while the work of Clemens is less orderly, and both of these take a less extensive range of inquiry, and are not so well adapted for general reading. When we consider the very extensive range of enquiry occupied by our author, the great variety both of argument and information which it contains, and the small space which it occupies; we cannot, I think, avoid coming to the conclusion, that it is a very extraordinary work, and one which is as suitable to our own times, as it was to those for which it was written. Its chief excellency is, that it is argumentative, and that its arguments are well grounded, and logically conducted. If it once or twice appeals to the power of Christianity in inducing many to devote their lives to a state of virginity, and to some other things quite unessential to vital religion; we should bear in mind, that this was the foible of his day, and that, of the thousands who may be found both able and willing to deprecate and blame this, not so much as one perhaps will to follow his virtues, or give any thing like such evidences of real learning, and of Christian piety and zeal.

As to the period at which it was written, I think it must have been, after the general peace restored to the Church by Constantine, and before either the “*Præparatio*,” or the “*Demonstratio Evangelica*,” was written. My reason for the first of these suppositions is: Our author speaks repeatedly of the peace restored to the Church; of Churches and Schools restored, or then built for the first time: of the flourishing state of the Church of Cæsarea; of the extended, and then successfully extending, state of Christianity: all of which could not have been said during the times of the last, and most severe persecution. My reasons for the second of these suppositions are, the considerations that whatever portions of this Work are found, either in the “*Præparatio*,”

the “*Demonstratio Evangelica*,” or the “*Oratio de laudibus Constantini*,” they there occur in no regular sequence of argument as they do in this Work: especially in the latter, into which they have been carried evidently for the purpose of lengthening out a speech. Besides, many of these places are amplified in these works, particularly in the two former as remarked in my notes; which seems to suggest, that such additions were made either to accommodate these to the new soil, into which they had been so transplanted, or, to supply some new matter, which had suggested itself to our author. And again, as both the “*Præparatio*” and “*Demonstratio Evangelica*,” are works which must have required very considerable time to complete them, and which would even then be unfit for general circulation; it appears probable to me, that this more popular, and more useful work, was first composed and published, and that the other two,—illustrating as they generally do, some particular points only,—argued in order in our Work,—were reserved for the reading and occasional writing of our author during a considerable number of years, as well for the satisfaction of his own mind, as for the general reading of the learned. It appears probable to me therefore, that this was one of the first productions of Eusebius, if not the first after the persecutions ceased.

Of the authors cited in the following pages, I have not always had it in my power to quote either the latest or the best Editions. In many cases I could consult those only which happened to be in my own possession, not only because it is not always in my power to be within the precincts of the University, and to avail myself of its Libraries; but also, even when there, its Libraries are neither large nor rich in this respect.

I have in some instances written the proper names as I found them in my Syriac original, which I could hardly avoid, both as it appeared to be my duty to represent this

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# PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION.

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## PART I.

### ON CERTAIN OPINIONS OF EUSEBIUS.

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As the usefulness of any Book must very much depend on the belief entertained of the orthodoxy of its author, I have thought it right to discuss as briefly as possible the following questions: First, The alleged Arianism of Eusebius: secondly, his views of Prophecy, generally; and thirdly, his belief that no restoration of the Jews, and no personal reign of Christ on earth, are to be expected. I think it right to use my best endeavour to place these questions in their true light, because I conceive much mistake exists respecting them.

#### SECTION I.

*On the alleged Arianism of Eusebius, and on the manner in which he has expressed his opinions.*

IN prosecuting this inquiry, our first business will be to determine, what the opinions of Arius were: our second, what those were which our author himself held, and how he has usually expressed these.

I would premise then, that in endeavouring to ascertain the religious belief of any writer, it is our duty to abide by his positively expressed opinions, and to attach to his words the precise sense, which it is most obvious he intended they should bear. If indeed, we think we see reason for suspecting his honesty, or feel difficulties in accounting for his conduct on certain occasions, we ought perhaps to put the best construction we can on these things; because the sources, from which they may have come down to us, might in the first instance have been any thing but pure; and in the second, from the little we can

now know of the exact bearing of all such particulars, our knowledge respecting them must necessarily be very imperfect.

Our questions however,—whatever may be the difficulties inherent in them in some respects,—do not appear to me to be greatly embarrassed in these. The great questions are, What did Arius positively propose for belief? And, What does Eusebius appear to have believed, with reference to the creed of this Heresiarch?

The leading opinion of Arius was, as it appears from his own statements, that there was a time in which Christ, the Son of God, had *no positive existence* whatsoever<sup>1</sup>; that He *was begotten*; by which he understood, *was pro-*

<sup>1</sup> Socratis Hist. Eccl. Lib. i. c. v. “Εἰ ὁ πατήρ ἐγένησε τὸν υἱὸν, ἀρχὴν ὑπάρξεως ἔχει ὁ γεννηθείς· καὶ ἐκ τούτου δῆλον, ὅτι ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν ὁ υἱός· ἀκολουθεῖ τε ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἔχειν αὐτὸν τὴν ὑπόστασιν.” “Si Pater genuit Filium, existendi initium habet is qui genitus est. Ex quo manifestè liquet, fuisse aliquando tempus, cum non esset Filius: et necessario conficitur, eundem ex nihilo subsistere.” We have ib. cap. vi. the Bishop of Alexandria’s Letter to the Bishops generally, containing his comments on the dogmas of Arius. After which follows that of Constantine, exhorting both the parties to merge their differences, and not to dispute on matters such as these, which were *small and of no moment!* which Socrates praises as evincing *great wisdom*; and to this Le Clerc seems to agree. Constantine’s words are, . . . ὑπὲρ τινος ματαίου ζητήματος μέρους.” “De quadam parte inanis questionis.” And, a little lower down, that no new dogma had been introduced, but as both held the same opinion (virtually), they might well agree together. “οὐδε καινὴ τις ὑμῖν ὑπερ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείας ἀρῆσις ἀντεισηχθη. ἀλλ’ ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχετε λογισμὸν ὡς περ τῆς κοινωρίας συνθημα.” I would remark here, that Constantine evinced neither the mind of an enlightened Believer, nor of a wise Governour; as indeed the sequel most abundantly proved. To be so liberal as to disregard the truth, is as rotten a policy, as it is to deal out secular pains and punishments on account of religious belief, however erroneous such belief might be. We have a similar account of the opinions of Arius, in Sozomen, Hist. Eccl. Lib. i. c. xv. Theodoret. Hist. Eccl. Lib. i. cc. ii. iv. The Epistle of Arius himself, ib. c. v. The Epistle of Eusebius of Nicomedia to Paulinus Bishop of Tyre, ib. c. vi. Philostorg. Hist. Eccl. Lib. ii. 3. Epiphanius. Heres. v. 69, as quoted by Le Clerc. Montfauc. Collect. nov. Patr. p. xvii. &c. and Cave’s Hist. Lit. Tom. i. p. 126. Edit. 1688.

*duced out of nothing.* These I take to have been the leading doctrines of Arius; and those, out of which, and about which, the great controversy that agitated the Church, soon after it was established by Constantine, originated and was carried on.

What, in the next place, are the opinions positively and clearly expressed, and maintained, by Eusebius? In our following work, p. 5, Christ is termed “the ONLY (begotten) WORD OF GOD, whom the Maker of all generated of Himself, as a ray of light from His own Godhead.” He is next spoken of as a *Mediator*, (p. 6,) appointed by the Father, to whose Godhead perishable beings, such as we are, could make no possible approach. The WORD OF GOD is then described as having meekly lowered Himself, become the efficient Cause of all things (p. 8. seq.), the Creator, Ruler, and Governour, of all.

The Person of the Father is then (p. 11. seq.) more particularly described as the (primary) Cause of every thing; incomprehensible, unrevealed, and reserved in the unseen depth of (His own) knowledge. From Him, the SON, or WORD OF GOD, is next described as a river ever flowing from an unlimited fountain, and distilling as rain to beings otherwise perishing. The Father is next spoken of as, in some respects, similar to the mind concealed within man; the Son, to the Word, sent forth announcing its determinations: and this again, in a manner *exceeding all comparison*, and *least of all like the word of man*, which is produced by a mere percussion of the air<sup>1</sup>: the Divine WORD being the *living* minister of God, “THE POWER OF GOD,” and “THE WISDOM OF GOD.”

In the next place (p. 14.), He is said to be *the God that is begotten of God*, and then John i. 1. is cited as the Scriptural warrant for this. Again, (p. 15.) He is termed THE LIFE and THE LIGHT which cannot be described. A little

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<sup>1</sup> Guarding in this against the errors of Marcellus, as we shall see hereafter. And let it be remembered, that, although our author has instituted comparisons with regard to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, his intention seems to have been, only to give an illustration, and not by the illustration to determine the abstract nature of the Beings so illustrated, as this context is sufficient to shew.

farther on (p. 18.), the Father is said to be the Head (source) of the generation of THE WORD, and the originating cause of all, and therefore truly styled *the Father* and God above all, beyond whom no cause can be assigned. From Him, it is added, proceeded forth the Son, the only begotten Saviour of all. Again, He is said to be in all things *like to His Father*, (so also p. 30), and to extend Himself throughout all things. Again, (p. 21) He is declared to be in nothing incomplete *because born of God*; and, as being *God of God*, He is sufficient for all, and Almighty: and is the one, image of His (Father's) essence. Again, (p. 26. seq.) a comparison is instituted between the Father and the Son, with reference to the *Divine Economy*, by a royal court; the King remaining concealed and unapproachable; the Son sustaining the office of first minster, and sending forth the determination of His Father's will throughout the various orders of society under his government.

In Book II. Sect. 3, the SON, or WORD of God, is said to have had *no beginning*; and Book III. p. 178, it is affirmed, that He still *remained with His Father*, notwithstanding His incarnation, just as He was before, *immaterial, incorporeal, and unchanged*, as to *His (eternal) essence*<sup>2</sup>: and (ib. p. 179), that even when *He conversed among men, He filled all things, was with the Father, and was in Him*. So far we may perhaps conclude, that there does appear to be a wide and palpable difference of opinion, between our author and the celebrated heresiarch Arius.

Before however, we can fully enter into the mind of Eusebius on these questions, we must inquire how he reasoned about Deity in the abstract, and of created Beings with reference to this: we shall then be able to see, what he meant when he spoke of a Being *generated of God, coming forth of God*, and, at the same time, having a *positive*

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<sup>2</sup> It will be objected perhaps, that the word *Eternal* does not occur in our text. I answer, the term {ܠܥܘܠܡܝܢ} is generally used in the Syriac in this sense; and, if it be a translation,—which it most likely is,—of the Greek *ουσία*, there can be no doubt on the mind of those who are accustomed to read the Philosophers, that, in this place the *Eternal Essence*. is meant.

*existence, subsistency, or person, and sustaining the character of a rational agent.*

On this subject then, he has delivered himself most fully and unreservedly in his *Præparatio Evangelica*. The place to which I now allude is Lib. xi. cap. ix. p. 523. seq. He commences with Exod. iii. 14, where Moses, speaking in the person of God, says, *I am that (Being) which I am.* “*Εγω ειμι ο ων.*” “*Thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel, THE BEING hath sent me to you:*” laying it down, that *He (alone) is properly and conveniently worthy of this appellation.* This, he goes on to tell us, is the real source and origin of all things both spiritual and corporeal. He then cites Plato to the same effect, and reasons accordingly, just as he has in our work, (Book II. sect. 24, 33, with the notes, also *ib.* sect. 44, 46, with the notes<sup>1</sup>). This is followed up in the *Præparatio Evangelica*, with a long extract from Numenius, (cap. x.), and another from Plutarch, (cap. xi.) which we shall presently notice. We are then taught, that the Godhead is incapable of description by words (cap. xii.); and then that He is *One*; Deut. vi. 4, is now cited to establish this. The opinions of Plato are again quoted, expressive of God’s all pervading character, power, justice, and the like; and, as corresponding with this, we have Isaiah xli. 4; Ps. x. 8; Deut. xxxii. 35; Ps. xxx. 24; Deut. xiii. 4; James iv. 6; and Job xx. 5, according to the LXX. All of which is apparently intended to afford a determinate, ample, and full view of *the abstract nature* of the Deity, as conceived by our author.

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<sup>1</sup> It should be borne in mind, in reading the works of Eusebius, that, as he reasons very much in imitation of Plato, we should be careful to understand him accordingly. When, for example, he speaks of *Being* (ὁ ων, or το ὄν), in *the abstract*, he means that *Being* alone which is properly called *God*, as in the following work, pp. 31, 89: p. 96, sect. 33, with the Notes: also p. 104, sect. 44: p. 106, sect. 45; *ib.* p. 108. So Le Clerc. of Plato. *Bibl. Univers. Ann.* 1688, p. 387. “Il croit qu’il n’y, qu’un Dieu supreme, spirituel et invisible, qu’il appelle d’ETRE, ou d’ETRE MEME, le BIEN MEME, le PERE et la CAUSE de tous les autres.—Hence too, we occasionally find the Syriac term ܐܠܘܗܐ, word, used in our work in the sense of *Reason*, which I have marked in the notes, just as the Platonists did the Greek λογος.

We are taught in the next place, and in the same context, that all Being must be one of two kinds only; either that which is spiritual, and to be perceived by the intellect only; or that which is material, and is known by the senses; that the former of these is immortal and impervious to decay; the latter, the contrary. And it is elsewhere argued, that of spiritual Beings, those which are brought nearest to the Godhead, are those which partake most largely of its character (not of its essence necessarily): those, which are otherwise, the reverse<sup>2</sup>: that it is through the mediation of the SON alone, that any such approximation as this can be made by the creatures; and that light, life, and every heavenly virtue can be known by them.—That THE SON is of the same *essence*, (*ουσία*) with the Father, is *ever with Him, and in Him*: is filled with all *the fulness of His Father's Godhead bodily*<sup>3</sup>: and that, notwithstanding His incarnation, humiliation, sufferings, and death, *His Godhead remained, just as it was before, complete and perfect*<sup>4</sup>, *immaterial, all-pervading, almighty, unutterable*. We have here therefore, a full and marked distinction established between the *Divine nature*, and, that of *the creatures*, whether spiritual or corporeal.

The Deity is next viewed by our author, with respect to the *Divine Economy* (*ἡ οἰκονομία*), which term however does not occur in our Work<sup>5</sup>. But this is of no importance,

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<sup>2</sup> Our Work, pp. 24, 27, 29, 30, 35, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Eccles. Theol. Lib. III. p. 195 A. . . . “ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ παν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς πατρικῆς θεότητος.” “Com. in Is. XLii. “τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπὶ μόνον αὐτὸν ἐπαναπαύσατο· ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ κατέκρησε τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς.” Col. ii. 9, and again, Com. in Psalm. p. 354. “ὁ γὰρ πατήρ ἐν τῷ υἱῷ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς ἐν τῷ πατρὶ. καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἠυδόκησεν πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος κατοικῆσαι.” He adds, “καὶ οὐ ποτὲ μὲν ᾤκησεν ἐν αὐτῷ, ἄλλοτε δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπέστη· ἀλλ’ εἰς τὸ ἀπειρον τέλος αἰεὶ ὁ πατήρ ἐν τῷ υἱῷ κατοικεῖ.” “Neque enim modo habitavit in illo, modo recessit ab eo; sed *in infinitum ac semper Pater in Filio inhabitat.*” He had just before said, that this indwelling is not such as that of God is, when it is said that He walks in his people. (2 Cor. vi. 16.)

<sup>4</sup> Our Work below, pp. 21, 25, 55, 89, 96, 104, 108, &c.

<sup>5</sup> It is to be found however in his Eccles. Hist. Lib. I. cap. I. twice, p. 1. . . . “ἀπο πρώτης ἀρξομαι της κατα τον Σωτηρα και κυριον ἡμῶν

as it is most clear, the thing itself does: and, it is worthy of remark, Eusebius is perhaps more particular than the Fathers generally in marking the dealings of the Deity with the creatures, in this respect, at a much earlier period than

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ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν τὸν χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ οἰκονομίας”...“ Ab ipsa Servatoris ac Domini nostri Jesu Christi incarnatione” (dispensatione) “initium ducam.” Ib. p. 2...“ ἀπο τῆς κατα τον Σωτηρα χριστον επινοουμενης ὑψηλοτέρας τε καὶ κρείττονος ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον οἰκονομίας τὲ καὶ θεολογίας.”...“ Ab ipsa quæ captum longè superat humanum Servatoris Christi dispensatione, et ab ejusdem divinitatis expositione repetetur.” Where we have a manifest distinction made between the terms θεολογίας, and οἰκονομίας: the former having respect to the Deity of our Lord considered in the abstract; the second, to his office sustained in the *Divine Economy*. This term occurs also in the very valuable Greek work of Eusebius, lately published by Dr. Gaisford, entitled “*Eclogæ Prophetarum*,” (Oxonii. 1842.) pp. 13, 17, 32, &c.—According to the Fathers generally, the *Economy* (οἰκονομία) had respect (i.) to the *providence* and *government* of God generally. So Epiphanius Hæres. LXXIII. “Καὶ οὐκ οἶδασι Θεοῦ τὴν δύναμιν, καὶ τὴν ἀγαθότητα, οὔτε τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῆς Θεοῦ σοφίας.” “*Non nōrunt Dei potentiam, neque bonitatem, neque ipsius sapientiæ gubernationem.*” So also Greg. Nyss. Catechet. Mag. cap. xii. Tom. III. p. 67. Chrysost. Lib. I. de Provid. cap. vii. &c., as cited by Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. sub voce. (ii.) To the *ministry of the New Test.* Eph. iii. 2. Col. i. 25. 1 Cor. ix. 17: termed by Gregory of Nyssa, οἰκονομία τοῦ μυστηρίου. Orat. Catechet. cap. xxv. Tom. III. p. 83, &c. cited ib. by Suicer. (iii.) To the *Incar-nation of our Lord*. So Theodoret. Dial. ii. cap. ix. Tom. iv. p. 62. (ib. Suicer), “τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου, καλοῦμεν οἰκονομίαν.” “*Incar-nationem Dei verbi, œconomiam vel assumptam humanitatem, vocamus.*” Our author however, speaks of this as being in operation previous to the incarnation of our Lord, (*Eclog. Prophet.* as noticed above, p. 13), where, speaking of God’s appearing to Abraham, Gen. xviii. 19, and shewing that it cannot apply either to the God of all (*i. e.* the Father), or the angelic nature, he says it must apply to THE WORD, ὃν διαφόρως καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίας οφθῆναί τε καὶ τὰς ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς ἐμφερομένας οἰκονομίας ἐκτελέσαι πεπιστεύκαμεν.” *Whom we have believed both to have variously appeared, even before the incarnation for the salvation of men, and to have effected the DISPENSATIONS contained in the divine Scriptures.* He goes on to say, that to Him alone, after the God of all (the Father), is the four-lettered appellation (*i. e.* יהוה *Jehovah*) found to be applied. The same is implied (ib. pp. 31, 32.) on Exod. xiii. 21, where the Hebrew text has יהוה *Jehovah*.

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*Second*, and the Holy Ghost, *the Third*: not for the purpose, as far as I can see, of lowering in any degree the *Divine nature* of either: but solely for that of speaking more intelligibly and definitely respecting the *Office* and *Person* of each, as sustained in *the Divine Economy*. Whether Eusebius did right or wrong in making this technical distinction, is not the question here: with this I have now nothing to do. I have only to inquire, what he meant, when he set it up, and reasoned accordingly.

These questions are discussed at some length, in the xith, xiith, and xiiith chapters of the Seventh Book of the *Præparatio Evangelica*, and again, from chap. ix. to chap. xx. of the Eleventh Book of the same work: from some of which I shall make a few extracts, sufficient, as I trust, to shew what the mind of our author was. In chap. xii. then of the Seventh Book he tells us, that the Hebrews introduce a *Second Essence*<sup>1</sup> and *Divine Power, the Principle*

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<sup>1</sup> The text stands thus: “δευτέραν οὐσίαν καὶ θείαν δύναμιν, ἀρχὴν τῶν γενητῶν ἀπάντων, πρώτην τε ὑποστᾶσαν, καὶ τοῦ πρώτου αἰτίου γεγεννημένην εἰσάγουσι (οἱ Ἑβραῖοι). Which Viger translates, “*Naturam alteram*” (incorrectly, and then warns the reader of the Arianism of Eusebius, which he himself had created. See also his note on the passage) “*constituunt, vimque divinam, quæ cum eorum omnium quæ gignuntur principium sit, tum ante cæteras omnes extiterit, ab eodemque primo Principio genita fuerit, quam ipsi (i. e. Hebræi) Verbum, Sapientiam, Deique Virtutem appellare solent.*” Where it may also be remarked, “*constituunt, vimque divinam,*” is any thing but an accurate translation of the Greek. In the first of these cases, he has supposed that *οὐσία* was to be taken in the sense of *φύσις*; which is indeed often done by the Fathers. It seems not to have occurred to him, that they do nevertheless use *οὐσία* in the sense of *ὑπόστασις*, *Person*, with the view of guarding against the errors of Marcellus, Paulus of Samosata, and others; with the first of whom our author had a warm controversy, “*Οὐσίας vero vocabulum*” (says Suicer sub voce)...“*de Christo usurpari cæpit, quia Samosatenus et Marcellus Filium Dei vocârunt ῥῆσις ἐκ στόματος, verbum, quod ex ore prodit: ut docet Epiphanius hæresi LXXIII. pag. 366.*” And hence we are told (page 12 of our work) that Christ is not “constituted in His nature by the *enunciation of names and words,*” &c. &c. It is worthy of remark, too, that the Arians were most averse to the term *οὐσία*, *Essence*, as applied either to the Father or the Son, (see Suiceri Thes. ib.) because, by this, when applied to Christ, His being *ομοουσιος*, *Homousian* with the Father was implied.

of all created beings; the *First subsisting*, and *Begotten of the First (Essence)*, terming Him THE WORD, and the *Wisdom*, and the *Power of God*. He goes on to shew, that Job (xxviii. 20), David (Ps. xxxiii. 6), Solomon (Prov. viii. 12, ib. 22—30): also Wisd. vi. 24; vii. 22; viii. 1.<sup>2</sup> had this Being in view. And he then tells us, that this DIVINE WORD is variously represented in Holy Scripture, as sent by the Father for the salvation of men: that He shewed Himself to Abraham, Moses, and other Prophets beloved of God, and taught them many things by Divine enouncements and predictions, where it is said that God and the Lord appeared and spoke to them; that the same came for the knowledge of all, as a Saviour and Physician of diseased souls, being sent by a *Greater*<sup>3</sup>. He then cites Ps. cvi. 20. “*He sent His word and healed them,*” &c. Ps. cxlvii. 4. “*His word runneth very swiftly.*” and after this John i. 1—5. We are next told, that Moses, inspired as he was, introduces God speaking to His First-begotten Word, on the creation of Man, thus; “*Let us make man in our image and likeness.*” and as agreeing with this, Ps. xxxiii. 9, is cited, “*He spake and they were made; He commanded, and they were created.*” This he says evidently marks the discourse of the *First* with the *Second Cause*, as of a *Father* with a *Son*. We are then informed that Moses speaks in other places of *Two Lords*, as in the destruction of Sodom; “*The Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrhaim brimstone and fire, from the Lord out of heaven.*” (Gen.

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<sup>2</sup> I omit citing these passages in order to save space. I would suggest that they ought to be examined. Le Clerc adds, Wisd. Sol. viii. 19: ix. 2: xviii. 15, 16: which are sufficient to determine the Platonizing character of its author.

<sup>3</sup> Here Viger warns us again, that this is *to be read with caution*. “*Locus hic caute legendus.*” But, might he not as well have cautioned us against St. John, nay against our Lord Himself, in the same way, where it is said, “*My Father is greater than I?*” (Chap. xiv. 28.) The question is not so much in cases of this sort, as to what the naked words are, but as to the manner in which we ought to view them. Our author is manifestly speaking here of our Lord as engaged in the office of a *ministering servant in the Divine Economy*; and this as before, prior to His Incarnation: which however he has, more than once, affirmed had no influence whatever in lowering the character of His Divine nature.

xix. 24). So “*The Lord said unto my Lord,*” &c. (Ps. cx. 8.) is a similar place: and, in the same (Ps. ver. 4.) the inexplicable and mysterious *Generation* of the Son is intimated. In the same work (Lib. xi. cc. xxiii. xiv.) the same question is discussed; and here, Prov. viii. 12, 22. seq. is cited, as is also, Wisd. vi. 24; vii. 25; viii. 1, as already remarked. All of which appears to me, to have been intended to mark, as existing under the former dispensation, a recognition of the distinct *personality* and *Divinity* of the Son; it being more than once affirmed, that this *Person* was that designated by the name *Jehovah* (τετράγραμμον) under that dispensation<sup>1</sup>.

We are next presented with an account of THE WORD, according to the mind of Philo Judæus, and Aristobulus, a Jewish writer contemporary with the Ptolemies; the most remarkable parts of which only I shall notice. Philo tells us then,—after stating that the Divine Oracles well ascribe the *Image of God* to THE WORD, as to *a second God*; no mortal nature being adequate to the bearing of such impres-

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<sup>1</sup> This inquiry is prosecuted to a still greater length, in the work of our author lately published by Dr. Gaisford, entitled “*Eclogæ Prophetarum.*” I will here point out a few places only. In pages 5, 6, we have Gen. xi. 5, 6, 7 cited, where the term יהוה is used, and is applied by our author to Christ, as ministering to the Father in the *Divine Economy*. Again (p. 6 seq.), Gen. xii. 1. 7: xiii. 14: xv. 1, 7. (Not Gen. 7, as there marked). xvii. 1: xviii. 1: 16—20, 22—25, 33. All of which, we are told (p. 9), cannot, as revealed to Abraham and enounced in the four-lettered name (i. e. *Jehovah*), apply either to any Angel, or to any Divine Power a little superior to the Angels, but does to *God Himself*. After noticing some other passages, in which mere angels are said to have appeared as to Abraham and Lot, we are told (p. 11 seq.) that a comparison of the Old with the New Testament, will shew that the Father is *invisible*, nevertheless that *God* is said both by Moses and the Prophets to have variously appeared. (Is. vi. 5 is pointed out, which St. John, xii. 41 explains of Christ, all of which is referred to Christ, (ib. p. 13), and as done by him under the *Divine Economy*, even before *His incarnation*, as already noticed. I mention these few places, merely as specimens of our author’s mode of treating on the Person of Christ, which I think could not have been done by any Arian. Similar interpretations of places in Genesis are given by Cyril of Alexandria against Julian. Lib. viii. p. 267, &c. Edit. 1696. et ib. p. 292 seq. as they also are by Theodoret in his work published by Dr. Gaisford, p. 84 seq.

sion, and the like,—that THE ETERNAL WORD OF THE EVERLASTING GOD, *is the most powerful and firm support of all things.* “Λόγος δ' ὁ αἰδῖος Θεοῦ τοῦ αἰωνίου, τὸ ὀχυρώτατον καὶ βεβαιότατον ἔρεισμα τῶν ὅλων ἐστίν.” Where we may observe, the WORD (Λόγος) is said to be *eternal*; as it is above, to be *a second God*. Philo proceeds, very much in the manner of our author<sup>2</sup>, “οὗτος ἀπὸ τῶν μέσων ἐπὶ τὰ πέρατα, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων ἐπὶ τὰ μέσα ταθεῖς, δολιχεύει τὸν φύσεως ἀήτητον δρόμον, συνάγων τὰ μέρη πάντα καὶ συσφίγγων. δεσμὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἄρρητον τοῦ παντός, ὁ γεννήσας ἐποίει Πατήρ.” Which Viger translates, “Hoc enim illud est, cujus arbitrio dum à mediis ad extrema, simulque a summis ad media pertinet, constitutus ac perpetuus naturæ cursus peragitur. Partes enim omnes inter se se consociat atque constringit, quod illud Pater, à quo genitum est, firmissimum quoddam totius universi vinculum esse voluerit.” Aristobulus (ib. Lib. vii. cap. xiv.) tells us, that the *Wisdom* which Solomon describes (Prov. viii.) as being prior to the creation of the world, the Stoics consider as a sort of Lamp to be followed during their whole lives, in order to be preserved from every sort of perturbation. Again, (Lib. xi. c. xv.) Philo goes on: “Ευπρεπὲς γὰρ τοῖς ἑταιρίαν πρὸς ἐπιστήμην θεμένοις, ἐφίεσθαι μὲν τοῦ τὸ ὄν ἰδεῖν· εἰ δὲ μὴ δύναιντο, τὴν γοῦν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ τὸν ἱερώτατον Λόγον.” “Decet enim, eos qui cum scientiâ societatem inierunt, ejus quod est, videndi desiderio teneri: aut si minus id possint, ejus saltem IMAGINIS, hoc est sacratissimi VERBI.” And again, (ib.) “Καν<sup>3</sup> μηδέπω μέντοι τυγχάνη τις ἀξιόχρεως Υἱὸς Θεοῦ προσαγορεύεσθαι, σπουδαζέτω κοσμεῖσθαι κατὰ τὸν πρωτόγονον αὐτοῦ Λόγον...καὶ γὰρ Ἀρχή, καὶ Ονομα Θεοῦ, καὶ Λόγος, καὶ ὁ κατ' εἰκόνα Ἀνθρωπος, καὶ ὁ ὄρων Ἰσραήλ, προσαγορεύεται.” Ut quis minùs adhuc filii Dei appellatione dignus fuerit, se ipsum tamen ad *primogenitum* illius *Verbum*...conformare conetur. Etenim *Principium, Dei Nomen, Verbum, Homo* secundum *Imaginem*, et videns *Israel* appellatur.” A little lower down (“*the Man whose name is Anatole* (lit. *Rising as of the Sun*, Auth. Vers.

<sup>2</sup> Theoph. p. 7, seq.

<sup>3</sup> Zech. vi. 12, according to the LXX.

*the Branch*)<sup>1</sup> is said to have been spoken of by one of the friends of Moses; and He is said to have been thus named, who is otherwise called the *Firstborn*, because the Father of all caused Him to arise (as the Sun): “τουτου μὲν γὰρ πρεσβύτατον Υἱὸν ὁ τῶν ὄλων ἀνέτειλε Πατήρ, ὃν ἐτέρωθι πρωτόγονον ὠνόμασε.”

It must be obvious I think from all this, that, whatever Philo and Aristobulus might have been as Platonists, they could not, as Jews, have supposed this *second God* to have been any thing less than *Jehovah Himself*; and this Philo seems to imply when he says, that He is the Being, termed the *Beginning*<sup>2</sup> or *Principle*, the *Name of God*, and *WORD*; the *Man* according to *Image*, and *the seeing Israel*<sup>3</sup>, (comp. Gen. xvi. 13.) The *name of God*, it is well known, is often put for *God* in the Old Testament<sup>4</sup>. In this respect therefore there is, if we may rely on this reasoning, between Philo and our author a complete agreement.

The opinions of Plato, on the *Second Cause* or *Deity*, will be found in the *Præparatio Evangelica* of our author,

<sup>1</sup> This passage is found in Philo's work, entitled, *περὶ συγχυσέως διαλεκτῶν*. Edit. Steph. p. 231.

<sup>2</sup> Alluding perhaps to Is. xli. 4, &c. In the Tract however, *περὶ τοῦ τίς τῶν θείων*, &c. p. 343. Edit. Steph. God is said to be the *Principle or Beginning of generation*. “ἀρχὴ μὲν γὰρ γενέσεως ὁ Θεός.”

<sup>3</sup> The place probably had in view is Gen. xvi. 13, where it is said that “*She called the name of the Lord (Jehovah יְהוָה), that spake unto her, Thou God seest me:*” where Israel seems to stand for the Hebrew *אֱלֹהִים*. Philo explains this passage, in the outset of his Tract entitled “*περὶ φυγαδῶν*,” (p. 306), and says, that the Angel who met Hagar was the *DIVINE WORD* (*θεῖον λογόν*): which the Hebrew text shews was *Jehovah*. Again, in the Tract “*περὶ ὀνείρων*,” ib. p. 400, *The Archangel, the Lord*, is said to have stood on the top of the ladder (in Jacob's dream, Gen. xxviii. 13.) *ἐμήνυε δὲ τὸ ὄναρ, ἐστηρικμένον ἐπὶ τῆς κλίμακος τὸν ἀρχαγγέλον κύριον.....and to have said, I am the Lord God of Abraham thy Father, &c. Ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραάμ τοῦ πατρός σου, κ.τ.λ.* Where there can be no doubt, the *DIVINE WORD* is meant; and, that it is intended to identify this with *Jehovah*. Many similar places may be cited: but this is unnecessary.

<sup>4</sup> Cruden's Concord. under “*Name*,” will supply the places.

(Lib. xi. cap. ix. xvi., and ib. xvii, as taken from his Commentator Plotinus; ib. xviii. from Numenius; ib. xix. from Amelius), and in the Second Book of our following Work (sectt. 24, 27, 29); they need not therefore be repeated here. Nor is it intended to enter at length either on the opinions of Plato, or on those of his Commentators. It will be sufficient for our purpose, and it will have greater weight, to state, as briefly as we can, the general results arrived at by Cyril of Alexandria,—a writer by no means likely to favour Arian views,—and Theodoret, the very elegant, learned, and judicious Bishop of Cyrus, on this subject.

Cyril then, in his work against Julian (Lib. viii. p. 267 seq. Edit. 1696), after citing Gen. i. 26. ‘*Let us make man in our image,*’ &c. as well as several other passages, and shewing that both *the Son and Holy Ghost* are here implied, as subsisting in the Deity, proceeds (p. 270) to shew, that even the Philosophers acknowledged *three primitive Subsistences*; and held, that to *the Essence of the Deity* there appertained *Subsistences to the number of three*: sometimes too, laying down the term *Trinity*, they assent to the opinions of the Christians; nor would anything have been wanting to them, if they had chosen to apply the term *Homoousian* to the *three Subsistences*<sup>5</sup>.

We have in the next page (271) a citation from Porphyry stating, that Plato extended the *Essence* of the Deity

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<sup>5</sup> His words are, ...“*τρεις ἀρχικὰς ὑποστάσεις ὑποτιθέμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ, καὶ μέχρι τριῶν ὑποστάσεων τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ προσήκειν ἰσχυρισάμενοι, ἐμαχοῦ δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς τριάδος τιθέντες ὄνομα, ταῖς χριστιανῶν συμφέρονται δόξαις, ἐλελοίπει δ’ ἂν πρὸς τοῦτο αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν, εἰ τὸν τῆς Ὁμοουσιότητος λόγον ἐφαρμόττειν ἤθελον ὑποστάσει ταῖς τρισίν.*” We have in the *Bibl. Univers. of Le Clerc* (Ann. 1688, p. 393) a passage cited from Porphyry, in which the term *Trinity* occurs. “*Platon, dit Porphyre, a enseigné que l’essence divine peut s’entendre jusqu’a trois hypostases, &c....de sorte que c’est par l’Esprit qu’il faut commencer a conter la Trinite τὴν τριάδα, &c.*” He has also shewn in the same work, that the terms *Homoousian* ὁμοούσιος, *Eterousian* ἑτερούσιος, *Hypostasis* ὑπόστασις, *Essence* οὐσία, and others common to the Fathers, had been used much in the same sense by the Platonists. He has also given a good outline on the general subject now before us, which he concludes, by condemning our author as an Arian.

as far as to *three Subsistences*; that the supreme God was (the chief) *Good*; that after Him was the *second*, the *Maker of the world*; and the *third*, was the *Soul of the world*: (implying) that *the Deity* extended to (this) *Soul*<sup>1</sup>. And the conclusion of Cyril upon this is, that as no difference can subsist between those that are of the *same nature* (*φύσις*, i. q. *οὐσία*)<sup>2</sup> it may be sufficient for the Christians to believe, as these Philosophers did, in a *Divinity extended to three Subsistences*, and hence to be mindful of the *Trinity* (so propounded).

Plato's *Epinomis*, and *Epistle to Hermias*, *Erastus*, and *Coriscus*, are then cited, (*Book II. sectt. 27, 29 below*), and commented upon, as is the passage from *Numenius the Pythagorean* (p. 272), and that from *Plotinus* (p. 273), which have also been cited by our author. In the last, the *supreme Deity* is termed the *Most Perfect*: the *Second Cause the Mind*, and the *Image of God*: and these are said (p. 274) to be the *Generating* and the *Generated*; to be *one* and *inseparable*, although *distinct*. In the former, the *First God* is, it is said, to be considered the *Father of the Maker of the World*<sup>3</sup>. And the *Second and Third God*,

<sup>1</sup> The words are: “ἄχρι γὰρ τριῶν ὑποστάσεων ἔφη Πλάτων τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ προελθεῖν οὐσίαν· εἶναι δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀνωτατον Θεον τ' Ἀγαθόν, μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ δεύτερον τὸν Δημιουργόν, τρίτην δὲ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου Ψυχὴν. ἄχρι γὰρ ψυχῆς τὴν θεότητα προελθεῖν.”

<sup>2</sup> As it is desirable fully to understand the Fathers when using the term *οὐσία*, with reference to the Deity, I think it right to give in this place their own manner of defining it. Athanasius and Cyril of Alexandria speak thus of it: “Οὐσία ἐστὶ πρᾶγμα αὐθυπαρκτον, μὴ δεομενον ἑτέρου πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σύστασιν.” “*Essentia est res per se subsistens, quæ nullo alio indiget ad sui constitutionem.*” And Athanasius again, on the Trinity: “Ἡ οὐσία τὴν κοινότητα σημαίνει· καὶ εἴτι ἐστὶν ἴδιον τῆς οὐσίας, τοῦτο κοινόν ἐστι τῶν ὑποστάσεων τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν οὐσίαν.” “*Essentia communitatem notat; et si quid essentiae proprium est, id commune est personis, quæ sub essentia sunt.*” See Suicer. *Thes. Eccles.* sub voce. Theodoret's reasoning on *Plato's Epistles*, &c. will afford some good exemplifications of the application of this. Gaisford's *Edit.* p. 87, seq.

<sup>3</sup> “τον δημιουργουντος σε Θεου χρη εἶναι νομιζεσθαι πατερα

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*Son*<sup>1</sup>. To this is added another extract from Plotinus, nearly to the same effect; to the weakness of the comparisons, instituted in which, Cyril objects: although he does not to the general doctrine taught; and, what is more to our purpose, maintains that *no inferiority exists in the Persons*.

This subject is touched upon by our author in his *Præp. Evang.* (Lib. xi. cap. xx. p. 541), where he tells us, that the Hebrew Oracles place the Holy Spirit *third in order*, with respect to the Father and the Son; and, in such a manner, lay down the *Holy and thrice blessed Trinity*, that by this *Third Power* all created nature is surpassed<sup>2</sup>. He then gives Plato's letter to Dionysius, which states the matter thus: about the *King of all* are all things, and His are all things, He too is the Author of all good things. But the *Second* (Cause) is about the things *second*; and the *Third*, about the *third*<sup>3</sup>. He remarks upon this, that those who undertake to explain the mind of the Philosopher, refer these things to the *First, Second, and Third, Cause or Soul* of the world, which they also determine to be a third God; but, he adds, the Sacred Scriptures place the *Holy and blessed Trinity*, the *Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*, in the predicament of PRINCIPLE, according to the things already given<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> “Ἀρ’ οὖν οὐχὶ καὶ μάλα σαφῶς τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος δημιουργικὴν τε καὶ ζωτικὴν ἐνέργειαν ἐν τούτοις ἡμῖν διαδείκνυσι”.....  
“καὶ οὐκ ἑτέρα φύσις ἐστὶ παρά γε τὴν τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἢ γοῦν τοῦ Υἱοῦ.”

<sup>2</sup> “Ἰων παρ’ Ἐβραίοις λογίων μετὰ τον περι Πατρος και Υἱοῦ λόγον, ἐν τρίτῃ τάξει τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα καταλεγόντων· καὶ τὴν γε ἁγίαν καὶ μακαρίαν Τριάδα τοῦτον ὑποτιθεμένων τὸν τρόπον, ὡς ἂν τῆς τρίτης δυνάμεως πᾶσαν ὑπερβεβηκυίας γεννητὴν φύσιν.”

<sup>3</sup> “Παρά τὸν πάντων βασιλεα πάντ εστι, και ἐκείνου ενεκα πάντα, και ἐκείνος Αιτιον ἀπάντων καλῶν· δεύτερον δὲ παρά τὰ δεύτερα, και τρίτον παρά τὰ τρίτα.”

<sup>4</sup> “Ταῦτα οἱ τὸν Πλάτωνα διασαφεῖν πειρώμενοι, ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον Θεὸν ἀνάγουσιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ δεύτερον Αιτιον, και τρίτον τὴν τοῦ Κόσμου Ψυχην. Θεὸν τρίτον και αὐτὴν ὀρίζόμενοι εἶναι. οἱ δὲ γε θεῖοι λόγοι, τὴν ἁγίαν και μακαρίαν Τριάδα, Πατρὸς, και Υἱοῦ, και ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ἐν ἀρχῆς λόγῳ τάττουσι, κατὰ τὰ ἀποδεδομένα.”  
The sense and bearing of ἀρχή, as applied by the Philosophers, is thus

It will be found that Theodoret has adopted reasoning on these passages, quite in unison with that of Eusebius and Cyril of Alexandria, as just now noticed. And, as a very neat Edition of this portion of Theodoret's works, by Dr. Gaisford, is accessible to all, it is the less necessary I should cite much from it. This subject will be found discussed at p. 87. seq. of Dr. Gaisford's publication, as it will in Tom. iv. p. 498. B. of the Edition of 1642. The only question I shall now touch upon, is one which has been discussed and pronounced upon, in similar terms, by these three Fathers. I mean, the opinions expressed by Amelius on the first few verses of St. John's Gospel. (Præp. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xix. p. 540. Cyril contra Julian. Lib. viii. p. 283. Theodoret. Edit. Gaisford, p. 92.)

The reasoning of Amelius on John i. 1, &c. is to this effect: This then was THE WORD, according to which,—*ever existing*,—the things in being were made, even as Heraclitus also deemed: and indeed, the Barbarian thinks it right to have placed Him in the order and dignity of *Principle*, and to be *with God*, and to be *God*: that by Him alone (singly) all things were made; in whom, that which was made became living, and life, and Being: that he descended into Body, put on flesh, and appeared as man: after which, he then also shewed the greatness of His nature; and being forthwith set free (by death), returned to the Deity, and was God, such as He was before He descended to the Body, the flesh, and the man<sup>5</sup>.—Which,

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given by Timæus Locrensis. (Theodoret. Edit. Gaisford, p. 101.) “Μία ἀρχὰ πάντων ἐστὶν ἀγέννητος· εἰ γὰρ ἐγένετο, οὐκ ἂν ἦν ἔτι ἀρχὰ, ἀλλ' ἐκείνα ἐξ ἧς ἀρχὰ ἐγένετο.” *There is one ungenerated PRINCIPLE of all things; for, if it were generated, it would not then be Principle, but that (would be) Principle out of which it were generated.* See also Suidas sub voce.

<sup>5</sup> The following is the text of Eusebius, which differs in a few particulars from that of Dr. Gaisford, and of Cyril. “Και ουτος ἀρὰ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καθ' ὃν αἰεὶ ὄντα τὰ γινόμενα ἐγένετο, ὡς ἂν καὶ ὁ Ηράκλειτος ἀξιόσσειε, καὶ νῆ. Δὲ ὃν ὁ βάρβαρος ἀξιοῖ ἐν τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς τάξει τε καὶ ἀξία καθεστηκότα πρὸς Θεὸν εἶναι, καὶ Θεὸν εἶναι· δι' οὗ παιθ' ἀπλῶς γεγενῆσθαι· ἐν ᾧ τὸ γενόμενον ζῶν, καὶ ζῶν, καὶ ὃν πεφυκέναι· καὶ εἰς τὰ σώματα (melius τε σώμα) πίπτειν, καὶ σάρκα ἐνδυσάμενον,

according to the opinion of these three Fathers, truly sets forth the *Divine* character of our Lord. And I may here affirm that, if these Fathers (i. e. Cyril and Theodoret) cannot be justly charged with Arianism, because they have made this use of the Greek Philosophers, and have set to their seal, that the view which treats *the Father* as the *First Cause*, *the Son as the Second*, and *the Holy Ghost* as the *Third*, in the *Holy and thrice blessed Trinity*, does not tend to lower the Divine nature of either; neither can our author, who has only done the same thing, and this I think, in every case, with regard to *the Divine Economy*. It ought to be borne in mind too, these Fathers believed that the Philosophers universally took these notions from *the Holy Scriptures*, whether right or wrong signifies nothing to our argument. They held accordingly, that the statements so made conspired with revealed truth, and thence they cited them. For my own part, I believe they were right in so doing, as I can discover no other source, from which they could have possibly been taken<sup>1</sup>.

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μενον, φαντάζεσθαι ἄνθρωπον, μετὰ καὶ τοῦ τηνικαῦτα δεικνύειν τῆς φύσεως τὸ μεγαλεῖον· ἀμέλει καὶ ἀναλυθέντα πάλιν ἀποθεοῦσθαι, καὶ Θεὸν εἶναι, οἷος ἦν πρὸ τοῦ εἰς τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τὴν σάρκα, καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον καταχθῆναι.” It certainly does seem, from the reasoning of Philo on the *Logos* (λόγος), and from the Targumists, who use the term **אֵלֶּוֹד** (*Word*) in the same way, as well as from St. John’s adoption of the term (λόγος), that this mode of viewing the Deity, with reference to *the Divine Economy*, had then got very considerable footing among the Jews,—from whose Scriptures it was, as I think, most probably taken at first. St. John’s statement is moreover, that this Being “*was made flesh, and dwelt among us:*” adopting, apparently, the general belief on this subject as correct, but taking care to restrict it to the Person of our Lord.

<sup>1</sup> See the *Præp. Evang.* Lib. XIII. cap. xii. Clemens Alexand. *ib.* cap. xiii. Le Clerc, *Bibl. Univers.* Ann. 1688, p. 403, seq. Theodoret. *ib.* p. 91, seq. tells us that Plotinus, who wrote a book on the *three Hypostases*, Plutarch, Numenius, and others, of the same class, coming *after the advent of our Lord*, inserted many things of the Christian Theology in their works. Plotinus therefore and Numenius, explaining the mind of Plato, state that he spoke of *three time-exceeding and eternal* (Beings), the (chief) *Good, the Mind, and the Soul of all*; which, he goes on to say, we term *the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*. “Καὶ Πλωτῖνος... περὶ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχικῶν ὑποστάσεων βιβλίον ξυνέγρα-

It is true Cyril has, as noticed above, occasionally expressed his dissatisfaction with certain modes of comparison instituted by the heathen Philosophers, whose opinions and expressions our author occasionally adopted: and of this, Viger and others have availed themselves, to his injury. But it is not with modes of expression merely that we have now to deal; it is, with these, also to ascertain as far as we can, *the things* discussed and positively intended. All must see that every sort of comparison, instituted with respect to the Deity, must be inadequate; and consequently, that if we endeavour to ascertain a writer's opinions, through a medium so faulty and insufficient, the result must be, we shall either deceive ourselves, or injure him. Our author has however, guarded himself abundantly against this again and again, declaring, that the nature of the Deity exceeds every effort of comparison or description; whence it should seem, he intended to provide, that his opinions should not be judged of in a way so unlikely to do them justice. If he has adopted too much of the Platonic mode of reasoning, or entered too particularly into questions, on which later times have deemed it prudent to say little or nothing; these are things with which we have now nothing to do: all we have before us is, simply to ascertain as far as we can, what his views respecting the Deity positively were.—Having then, so far inquired into, and ascertained, his modes of thinking and stating his opinions, we may now proceed to examine them upon other grounds.

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ψεν” . . . “ καὶ ἕτερα δέ γε πλεῖστα εἴρηται καὶ τούτῳ, καὶ Πλουτάρχῳ, καὶ Νουμηνίῳ, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοι τῆς τούτων ἦσαν ξυμμορίας. Μετὰ γὰρ [δὴ] τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἐπιφάνειαν οὗτοι γενόμενοι τῆς χριστιανικῆς θεολογίας πολλὰ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀνέμιξαν λόγοις.”

I think it extremely likely, that the Text of the New Testament afforded these later Philosophers much new matter on this very abstruse subject, although that of the Old might have supplied quite as much as Plato and Philo were able to say upon it: nothing being more common in the East, even at this day, than the adoption of Christian opinions by the Idolaters.

## SECTION II.

*On the Opinions of Eusebius, as deducible from the History of the Council of Nice.*

WE now come to consider the Letter of our Author addressed to the Church of Cæsarea, respecting the proceedings of the Council of Nice, particularly as this has been made one of the chief grounds of accusation against him.

The first thing we shall notice is, the profession of faith which he then offered to the Council<sup>1</sup>, and which is thus given: *‘I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the Maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the WORD OF GOD, GOD OF GOD, LIGHT OF LIGHT, LIFE OF LIFE, the only begotten Son, the First Born of every creature, begotten of God the Father before all ages, (or worlds,) and by whom all things were made: Who, for our salvation, became incarnate and conversant among men, and suffered, and rose again the third day, and ascended to the Father, and shall come again in glory to judge the living and the dead. And I believe in one Holy Ghost.’* ‘Each one of these,’ he adds, *‘we believe to be and exist: the Father, truly the Father; and the Son, truly the Son; and the Holy Ghost, truly the Holy Ghost, even as our Lord, sending forth his apostles to preach, said: “Go (and) make Disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost<sup>2</sup>.”* ‘Concerning which

<sup>1</sup> The Creed agreed upon at the Council, which is evidently based on this, as this was on others of a more ancient date, proceeds no farther than this place, with the addition of the Anathema. The whole formula will be found in Theodoret. Hist. Eccles. Lib. i. cap. xi. Socrat. Hist. Eccles. Lib. i. cap. viii. as also in the authorities mentioned by Bingham, Antiq. Book x. cap. iv. sect. 4. On the additional portions found in this Creed, as it now stands in our Prayer Books, see, ib. sect. 16. seq. See also Jortin’s Remarks on Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. Book III. p. 224—5.

<sup>2</sup> The Greek of which stands thus: “πιστευω εις ενα θεον, πατερα παντοκράτορα, τον των απαντων ορατων δε και αορατων ποιητην, και εις ενα κυριον ιησουν χριστον, τον του θεου λογον, θεον εκ θεου, φως εκ φωτος, ζωην εκ ζωης, υιον μονογενη, πρωτοτοκον παση τη

things,' he goes on to say, 'we affirm that they thus are, and that we thus think, and that we thus formerly held, and that to this faith we will stand even to death, anathematizing every ungodly heresy. That *we have thought these things from the heart and soul*, as far as we have known ourselves; that we now think and say them in truth, we attest before Almighty God, and our Lord Jesus Christ; having it in our power to shew, and by proofs even to satisfy you, that we thus believed and preached even in times past.'

It should seem, I think, that the profession here made, was made in all simplicity and good faith. I can conceive of no other motive, which could have induced the Father of Church history to act otherwise. And, if this may be relied on, it also must that he did not, on this occasion, make any profession, which he had not *always made*, and *always taught*, previous to this time<sup>3</sup>.

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κτίσεως, πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πατρὸς γεγεννημένον, δι' οὗ καὶ ἐγένετο πάντα· τὸν διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν σαρκωθέντα καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτευσάμενον, καὶ παθόντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἀνελθόντα τρὸς τὸν πατέρα, καὶ ἤξοντα πάλιν ἐν δόξῃ κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. πιστεύομεν καὶ εἰς ἓν πνεῦμα ἅγιον." From the expression, "ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς γεγεννημένον," as well as from what he here adds, viz. "τούτων ἕκαστον εἶναι καὶ ὑπάρχειν, πιστευοντες, πατερα αληθινως πατερα, και υιον αληθινως υιον, πνευμά τε ἅγιον ἀληθινῶς πνεῦμα ἅγιον." κ. τ. λ. it must be evident, according to his mode of thinking and speaking of the Deity, that nothing short of the *self-existing* and *independent* nature of God could have been intended.

<sup>3</sup> It is positively asserted nevertheless, by Athanasius, that his belief was Arian up to the time of the Council of Nice. His words are these: "πρότερον μὲν συντρέχων τῇ ἀρειανικῇ αἰρέσει· ὕστερον δὲ ὑπογράψας ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐν νικαία συνόδῳ." "Qui cum prius suffragaretur Arianicæ sectæ, postea tamen Nicæni Concilii decretis subscripsit." Vales. Life of Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Tom. i. p. mihi 24. Jortin however tells us (Remarks on Eccl. Hist. Vol. ii. pp. 189, 270, Edit. 1767), that "Eusebius proposed a Creed, in which he *avoided* the word *ομοουσιος*, and anathematized *every impious heresy*, without specifying any." Would it not have been more accurate to have said, that Eusebius did not *insert* the term *Homoousian*, as it does not appear to have had a place in any creed up to this time? And ought not Jortin in fairness to have added, that,

Let us now examine this profession of Faith itself, with reference to the charge of Arianism so commonly brought against our author. Of his belief respecting the Father we need say nothing, because that has not been impeached. Of the Son then he says, He is GOD OF GOD. Now, What could a writer, holding the notions of Plato, and the opinions which he himself has expressed on the character of Deity, have possibly meant by this GOD OF GOD? and which is interpreted, a little lower down, by ‘*begotten of the Father before all ages*’ or worlds, if it was not, that the Son was *of the Divine Essence of the Father*<sup>1</sup>? It should be observed too, we have here no delusive attempt to screen the notions of an Arian, under the substitution of one Greek verb for another, which might have the effect of deceiving the unwary<sup>2</sup>. Again, a little farther on, we have, ‘*The Father truly (really) the Father,*’ and, in the same sense, ‘*The Son truly (really) the Son.*’ And the same must be true of the phrases, ‘*LIGHT OF LIGHT, LIFE OF LIFE,*’ which are followed, as before, by, “*The only begotten Son,*

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that, when this term was inserted, and had been discussed, Eusebius was one of those who gave it his warmest support? Jortin’s other remark is not worth noticing. Le Clerc makes no scruple here in charging Eusebius directly with duplicity: “Eusebe,” says he (Bibl. Univers. Ann. 1688. p. 480.)...“*etoit un homme adroit, qui ne faisoit pas scrupule de souscrire a des termes qui ne lui plaisoient pas, pourvu qu’il les put expliquer en un sens conforme à sa pensée.*” (See also p. 482), which has been re-echoed by Jortin. I will only ask here, What would Le Clerc and Jortin have thought of the writer who had treated them in this manner, after protestations such as those made by Eusebius?

<sup>1</sup> Even the Arians, if they could have allowed the *generation* of the Son, in Eusebius’s sense, would not have hesitated to receive Him as being equally eternal and divine with the Father. See the Letter of Eusebius of Nicomedia to Paulinus of Tyre. Theodoret. Hist. Eccles. Lib. i. cap. vi.

<sup>2</sup> It was a very common practice with the Arians to substitute some part or other of the verb, γείνομαι, γίγνομαι, or γίνομαι, for that of γεννάω, γεννώμαι; as γεννητός, for γεννητός, &c. of which both Valerius (Annot. in Hist. Eccl. Theodoret. Lib. ii. cap. viii.) and Montfaucon (Coll. Nov. Patr. Tom. ii. p. lix.) has deemed it necessary particularly to apprise their readers. Yet, it ought to be observed, that this distinction does not universally hold, even in the orthodox writers, particularly in the term αγεννητός.

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*Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes.*' It may be observed, that the Anathema appended to the formula of Eusebius is here, as before, made more specific and comprehensive by the Council: although in effect, it reaches no heresy which might not have been brought under that of our author; it being the privilege of the Church to determine, what heresy was. In this respect, the prior formula was more full, as it would comprehend future heresies. Still the latter was better adapted to general use at that time.

It appears indeed, that our author did not allow these additions to pass without severe inquiry, as to their intention and bearing: and this was perhaps not improper in a matter of such great moment; and especially when a new term was to be introduced into the Creed of the Universal Church. And, What was the result? His entire and conscientious concurrence, as noticed above. The terms, "*being of the substance,*" were explained to indicate, the "*being of the Father, but not as a part of the Father*<sup>1</sup>:" to which, as he tells us, he cordially agreed, not thinking it desirable to keep up a warfare, and to lose sight of the truth for the sake of words only. For the same reason he adds, he received the terms *begotten not made*; and because it was said, The term *made* applied commonly to the *creatures*, which had been made by the Son, to which He was in no respect similar, but was of an *Essence* far superior to every thing made: while the Scriptures too declared, that *the Son was begotten of the Father*, in a way neither to be conceived

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<sup>1</sup> Gr. "καὶ δὴ τὸ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας, ὡμολόγητο πρὸς αὐτῶν δηλωτικὸν εἶναι τοῦ ἐκ μὴν τοῦ πατρὸς εἶναι, οὐ μὴν ὡς μέρος ὑπάρχειν τοῦ πατρὸς." "Et hos quidem voces, ex substantia, fassi sunt hoc significare; Filium quidem esse ex Patre, sed non tanquam partem ipsius Patris." He then adds, "ταυτη και ημῶν εδοκει καλως εχειν συγκατατίθεσθαι τῇ διανοίᾳ, τῆς εὐσεβοῦς διδασκαλίας ὑπαγορευούσης ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν, οὐ μὴν μέρος τῆς οὐσίας αὐτο ὑτυγχάνειν. διόπερ ταύτη τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ αὐτοὶ συντιθέμεθα." "Hunc sensum ut nos quoque amplecteremur, æquum omnino videbatur, cum pia doctrina prædicet, Filium ex Patre esse, non tamen partem esse illius substantiæ. Quamobrem et nos huic notioni assensum præbemus."

nor described by any creature. ‘In the same way,’ he adds, ‘the investigation shewed the *Son to be Homoousian* (of the same substance) *with the Father*, not after any bodily sort, nor allied in any way to that of mortals; neither by division of the substance, nor by abscission, passion, conversion, or change, of the power of the Father: that the *nature of the unbegotten Father was foreign to all these*: that *the being Homoousian with the Father*, shewed that the Son bears no similitude whatsoever to the begotten creatures; but that He was, in all respects, like the Father who begat: and, that He was of *no other subsistency*, (or Essence) *but of that of the Father*’<sup>2</sup>. To which, our author adds, he agreed as being well propounded, since many ancient and famous Bishops and Writers had used the term *Homoousian* in the same sense. He then adds his consent to the Anathema subjoined, because the terms “*out of nothing*,” “*there was a time when he was not*,” and the like, were unscriptural, and had been the cause of much confusion in the Church: it being confessed by all, that the Son of God did exist before his generation in the flesh; and that, prior to his actual generation, He existed in power ungeneratedly (*detur venia verbo*) in the Father<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> Hence will be seen how far from the *whole* truth Jortin’s flippant account of this matter is, when he says, “His (Eusebius’s) sense of *consubstantial* was, that *the Son of God was not like created beings, but received his existence and his perfections from the Father in a different and in an ineffable manner*,” &c. Remarks on Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. Book III. p. 189. Ed. 1767. The Greek here will shew, that our author occasionally used the term *υποστασις* and *ουσία*, in the same sense: “*καὶ μὴ εἶναι ἐξ ἐτέρας τινὸς ὑποστάσεώς τε καὶ οὐσίας, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς.*” And also that he did believe, that the Son was of *the Essence of the Father*.

<sup>3</sup> This is a very remarkable passage, and one which ought not to be passed over without notice. It stands thus: “*ἐπει καὶ πρὶν ἐνεργείᾳ γενηθῆναι, δυνάμει ἦν ἐν τῷ πατρὶ ἀγεννήτως, ὄντος τοῦ πατρὸς, ὡς καὶ βασιλέως αἰεὶ, καὶ σωτῆρος, καὶ δυνάμει πάντα ὄντος αἰεὶ τε καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ, καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχοντος.*” “*Nam priusquam actu gigneretur, potentiâ erat in Patre, ingenita quadam ratione: cum Pater semper sit pater, Rex item atque Servator.*” Here, it should be observed, Eusebius speaks of the *abstract nature of the Deity*, as it respected *the monarchy*, (*κατὰ τὴν μοναρχίαν*) as being ever immutably  
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One of the most important considerations, however, connected with this Letter is, that it appears to have been written to Arians<sup>1</sup>. It has already been remarked, that

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*the same*: and, although he uses the terms *Father* and *Son*,—which he usually applies with reference to *the Divine Economy* (ἡ οἰκονομία)—it is for the purpose of affirming here, that each is equally eternal, and coessential. To this, Valesius has a strong objection, which he declares in these words in his notes, (p. mihi 12.) “In his Constantini sive Eusebii verbis error est manifestus. Neque enim verbum fuit in Patre potentia, priusquam actu gigneretur ex Patre. Primum enim actus et potentia non distinguuntur in Deo. Deinde ex eo sequeretur Verbum non fuisse ab æterno. Nam et reliquæ creaturæ antequam actu crearentur, potentia erant in Deo,” &c. I must confess I do not very clearly see the force of this objection. If the Schoolmen have said, that *act* and *power* are not to be considered as distinct things in the Deity, I do not perceive, either in what this is self-evident, or why the distinction is not to be made. Nor again, can I discover, in what way the creatures—here supposed to be created *out of nothing*,—could also be said to exist in the Deity *in power* before they were created, and hence be held to have been from eternity. This seems to me, to be judging of the opinions and reasoning of Eusebius, by principles not recognized until some centuries after his death. It appears to me, that Eusebius might have believed the Deity to have existed in His abstract character from all eternity immutably the same, and yet the Divine Essence to have comprehended the subsistences of *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*, all each, and every, of these, vested with the power which is inseparable from Deity. But, however this might be, the passage most unequivocally affirms *the eternity of the Son*.

<sup>1</sup> So Theodoret, from whose Eccles. Hist. (Lib. i. cap. xi.) these extracts are taken, ib. whose words are: “Ευσεβίου τοῦ καισαρεως ἐπιστολὴν, ἣν περὶ τῆς πίστεως ἔγραψεν, ἐνθὲν βούλομαι τῇ συγγραφῇ, τῆς τούτων λύττης ἔλεγχον ἔχουσαν ἐναργῆ. τοῦτον γὰρ γεραίροντες ὡς ὁμόφρονα, τοῖς ὑπὸ τούτου γραφεῖσιν ἀντικρυς ἀντιλέγουσιν· γέγραφε δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς τινὰ τὰ Αρείου φρονοῦντας, προδοσίαν ὡς εἰκὸς ἐγκαλοῦντας αὐτῷ, δηλοῖ δὲ ἄμεινον τὰ γεγραμμένα τὸν τοῦ γεγραφότος σκοπόν.” “Eusebii Cæsariensis epistolam, quam de fide scripsit, libet hoc loco inserere, ut quæ illorum” (i. e. Arianorum) “rabiem manifeste convincat. Hunc enim ut consentientem honorantes, ejus scriptis aperte contradicunt. Epistolam autem scripsit ad Arianos quosdam, qui illum, ut apparet, prodicionis accusabant. Sed auctoris mentem melius verba ipsa declarant.” Then follows this Epistle: which, be it remembered, Theodoret cites for the purpose of shewing that our author was not friendly to the views of the Arians. Socrates gives a similar account of this Epistle (Lib. i. cap. viii. p. mihi 23. D.) “καὶ τῷ ὑπ’ αὐτὸν λαῶ ἔγγραφον τὸν ὄρον τῆς

Eusebius's hesitating to subscribe to the *Homoousian* doctrine, has been made matter of accusation against him<sup>2</sup>. Now let it be supposed that this Letter was written to Arians within his own diocese; What, I ask, could be more proper or becoming in him, than to assure them that he did not assent to this doctrine until he had obtained a full

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πίστεως διεπέμψατο (Εὐσέβιος ὁ τοῦ παμφίλου), τὴν τοῦ ὁμοουσίου λέξιν ἐρμηνεύσας, ἵνα μὴ δὲ ὅλως τις ὑπόνοιαν ἀνθ' ὧν ἐπέστησεν ἔχη περὶ αὐτοῦ."... "et Cæsariensibus suis conscriptam fidei formulam misit, vocem consubstantialis interpretatus, ne quis sinistram quidpiam de ipso suspicaretur, eo quod aliquantulum substitisset."

<sup>2</sup> It is curious to observe how Athanasius meets this: "It is wonderful," says he, "that Eusebius of Cæsarea of Palestine, although refusing the day before, yet the day after subscribed; and sent an Epistle to his Church, asserting that this was the Faith of the Church, and the tradition of the Fathers; and to all he openly shewed, that they were formerly in error, and had vainly contended against the truth." He goes on to say, that "although these were words which he was *then* ashamed to use, he nevertheless was willing to defend himself to the Church in this way, not denying the Homoousian doctrine, which must have been grievous to him: and that to carry this on, he ever after accused the Arians." His words are: "καὶ τότε παράδοξον, Εὐσέβιος ὁ ἀπὸ καισαρείας τῆς παλαιστίνης, καὶ τοι πρὸ μιᾶς ἀρνούμενος, ὅμως ὕστερον ὑπογράψας, ἐπέστειλε τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἑαυτοῦ, λέγων εἶναι τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὴν πίστιν, καὶ τῶν πατέρων τὴν παράδοσιν· πᾶσί τε φανερώς ἔδειξεν, ὅτι πρότερον ἐσφάλλοντο, καὶ μάτην ἐφιλονέικουν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἠσχύνθη τότε ταύταις ταῖς λέξεσι γράψαι, καὶ ὡς ἠθέλησεν αὐτὸς ἀπελογήσατο τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀλλάγε διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τὸ ὁμοούσιον, ... μὴ ἀρνησάμενος φανερώς τοῦτο σημᾶναι βούλεται, καὶ πέποιθέ τι δεινόν. ὡς γὰρ ἀπολογούμενος κατεγόρησε λοιπὸν τῶν ἀρειανῶν." Vales. Life of Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Tom. i. It is greatly to be regretted that Athanasius did not here, as well as elsewhere, bring *positive matter* of accusation against our Author if he had any. The fact is, all he has advanced amounts to nothing beyond inferences, drawn from documents now in our hands. In one case, indeed, he cites a document not extant, and in this he accuses him of saying that *Christ is not the true God*. It is probable however, that all our Author there did was, to style the Father *the only true God*, as in John xvii. 3: Christ there speaking of Himself as a *Minister* in the Divine *Economy*; a thing which Eusebius has done again and again. Athanasius, no doubt, gave the real impressions which he felt; but it is to be feared that,—as it often happens among ourselves,—a fervent zeal to maintain the truth, was suffered to overcome his better judgment, and, with this, his christian feelings as a controversialist.

and clear explanation as to its bearing? that he had not been lightly carried away with the many. but had persevered to the last in refusing subscription, until the matter had been made out entirely to his satisfaction? that he then subscribed, declaring that the term proposed (*Homoousian*) was neither *new*, nor,—as then explained,—in *any way differing from the teaching of the Divine Oracles*; and then attesting in the presence of the Almighty, that he had in sincerity, and in the fullest conviction of his conscience, given his assent to this Creed? Nor is this all, but he as fully assented to the Anathema also, which fell directly on the notions of the Arians; and called to their remembrance, that these were the doctrines which he had *from the first taught and preached*, and would *to the last maintain among them*. Let it also be borne in mind that Arius, as noticed above, had looked upon our Author as one of his adherents; and I think it must appear, that this Letter was both intended to undeceive them in this respect, and at the same time to lay before them his real, long entertained, and deliberately formed, convictions as to the proper Divinity of the Son of God, and as to the unscriptural and heretical notions of the Arian party. This, I think, is the course that any Churchman at the present day would pursue, when arguing with a Dissenter. He would endeavour to convince him,—if he dealt fairly with him,—that he had taken all due care to consider his opinions; that he did not rashly or hastily oppose his views: but that, after every necessary investigation made, he felt bound both to express, and to maintain, the opinions to which he had from the first been attached.

To this it may be added, that Theodoret, a writer of no mean attainments and judgment, devotes a whole chapter in his Ecclesiastical History (Lib. i. cap. xii.)<sup>1</sup> to the task of convincing the Arians, *from the writings of our Eusebius*, that they laboured under a great mistake in

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<sup>1</sup> Yet, he is made (ib. Lib. v. cap. vii.) to enumerate "*even Eusebius*" of Cæsarea among the abettors of Arianism! Is it not probable that this ("καὶ Εὐσεβίος") was added by some zealous scribe? for it is well known, that the margins of the MSS. are occasionally loaded with reproaches on his name vented by this race of men.

supposing, that he was attached to their opinions. This he does first, by shewing from his Epistle to the Church of Cæsarea, that the term *Homoousian* was not of recent coinage: secondly, by appealing to the consent which he, with the Nicene Fathers, gave to the Creed then established: which Theodoret also affirms, he had also shewn in his Life of Constantine. And he concludes, that, although the Arians considered it no impiety to contradict other Fathers; to Eusebius, whom they usually treated with respect, it was but reasonable they should give credence when he affirmed, that the agreement of the Council was complete.

It will be quite sufficient to our purpose now, to add the testimony of Socrates<sup>2</sup> to the same effect; and particularly, as he has had sagacity enough to discover, on what grounds it was, that our Author had been charged with Arianism, and also to suggest, from the nature of the case,

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<sup>2</sup> As this passage is important to our question, I give it in the Greek of Socrates, with the Latin translation of Valesius...“ πως ἀρειανίζειν αὐτόν τινες ὑπολαμβάνουσιν· πλανῶνται δὲ καὶ ἀρειανοὶ, φρονεῖν αὐτὸν νομίζοντες τὰ αὐτῶν· ἀλλ’ ἐρεῖ τις ὡς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ ἀρειανίζειν δοκεῖ, τῷ συνεχῶς λέγειν διὰ Χριστοῦ· πρὸς ὃν ἀποκρινόμεθα, ὅτι τῇ λέξει ταύτῃ πολλάκις καὶ οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ταῖς μηνυούσαις τὴν οἰκονομίαν τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν· καὶ πρό γε ἀπάντων τούτων, ὁ ἀπόστολος ταῖς λέξεσι ταύταις ἐχρήσατο, καὶ οὐ δὲ πώποτε ὡς κακοδοξίας διδάσκαλος ἐνομίσθη.” ...Quid causæ est cur nonnulli eum existiment Ariano dogmati consentire? Falluntur etiam Ariani, qui illum opinioni suæ suffragari arbitrantur. Sed dicet fortasse aliquis, illum Ariani dogmatis assertorem videri, propterea quod in libris suis crebro dicere solet, per Christum. Cui nos respondemus; et hac loquendi ratione, et aliis hujusmodi quæ dispensationem humanitatis Jesu Christi designant, Ecclesiasticos Scriptores et consuevisse: et ante hos omnes Paulum Apostolum iisdem vocibus usum fuisse, qui tamen perversi dogmatis magister nunquam est existimatus.” See on this use of the term *Economy* (οἰκονομία) pp. xxix. xxx. note, above; and on a very extended application of it the “Capitula de Incarnatione Domini” of Cyril of Alexandria, Script. Vet. Nov. Collect. Tom. viii. Rom. 1833, by Signor Mai, p. 59, seq. It. Athanasius, Collect. Nov. Patr. Tom. ii. Paris, 1706. Ed. Montfauc. p. 6, seq. It should be borne in mind however, that our Author often speaks of the *Economy* (ἡ οἰκονομία), under which our Lord acted as a Minister, even before *His incarnation*, as already remarked.

how the expressions of Eusebius ought to be viewed. Socrates then, in his Ecclesiastical History (Lib. II. cap. xxi. p. mihi 103) argues to this effect: ‘Since some have endeavoured to criminate Eusebius as Arianizing in his writings, I think it not unseasonable to say a few things about him. First, he was present at the Council of Nice, which defined the *Homoousian* doctrine; and with it he agreed.’ His Life of Constantine is then, as before, cited, containing his own testimony to this fact. Socrates then asks, ‘How is it, that some suppose him to have Arianized; for the Arians err who imagine that he thinks with them? One may say,’ he adds, ‘that in his writings he *seems to Arianize*, from his frequently saying *through Christ*. To such we answer,’ continues he, ‘Churchmen often use this expression, as they also do those other (similar ones), which have respect to the *Economy* of the manhood of our Saviour; and indeed, before all these, the Apostle used the (same) expressions, and he has never, on this account, been considered a Teacher of corrupt doctrine<sup>1</sup>.’ Socrates has, I think, here assigned the true cause of the alleged Arianism of our Author.—It should be remarked, that in this respect Eusebius has, perhaps *more frequently* than any other of the Fathers, spoken of our Lord under *this point of view*, without, at the same time, apprizing his Reader of it: which might however well be excused in a mind so philosophical as his really was: while in others less so, it would easily be mistaken for heterodoxy. Socrates proceeds; ‘Hear<sup>1</sup> what Eusebius says, when Arius affirms

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<sup>1</sup> This is taken by Socrates (Hist. Eccl. ib.) from our Author’s controversy with Marcellus, which we shall notice more particularly in our next section. As the place is important, I give the original: “Ἐπι μὴν καὶ ἀρείου κτίσμα τὸν υἱὸν ὡς ἐν τῶν ἄλλων πολμήσαντος εἰπεῖν, ἐπάκουσον οἷα Εὐσέβιος περὶ τούτου... φησὶν· ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ μόνος αὐτός, καὶ οὐ δὲ ἄλλος ἀνηγορεύεται τε καὶ ἔστιν· ὅθεν εἰκότως ἂν τις μέμψαιτο τοῖς κτίσμα αὐτὸν φᾶναι τετοληκόσιν, ἐξ οὐκ οὐτῶν ὁμοίων τοῖς λοιποῖς κτισμασ. γενομένου· καὶ πῶς γὰρ ἔτι ἔσται υἱός; πῶς δὲ μονογενὴς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς λοιποῖς κτίσμασιν ἐπιγραφόμενος φύσιν; τῶν τε πολλῶν γενητῶν ἔσται εἷς, ἅτε τῆς ἐξ οὐκ οὐτῶν κτίσεως ὁμοίως αὐτοῖς μετασχὼν κοινωνίας; ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὡς περὶ αὐτοῦ τα θεῖα παιδεύει λόγια... ὁ γὰρ ἐξ οὐκ

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sincerity of our Author; or for supposing that, either then, or at any previous time, he really favoured the views of the Arians. Whether his reasoning was good or bad, or whether he talked at one time too much like a Platonist, at another, too much like a Theologian, for general readers, or not, is not now the question. I will say here, that, taking his reasoning as it ought to be taken, as resulting from his own modes of thinking and of expression, I may perhaps conclude, that, so far, there appears to be no good grounds either for suspecting his sincerity, or his orthodoxy. It should be observed too, that, of all the testimonies against him, collected from the Fathers of the Church and others by Valesius, not so much as one is grounded on any thing better than *inference*, and this drawn, as I think, from narrow and partial views of his conduct and writings. In one instance indeed, he is accused with having sacrificed to idols during the persecutions: but here also, it will be found upon inquiry, this rests on grounds no better than those of conjecture<sup>1</sup>.

### SECTION III.

*On the Opinions of Eusebius as discoverable in his Controversy with Marcellus.*

HAVING considered some of the leading modes of thinking and of expressing himself adopted by our Author, and examined these in some of their details as connected with the Council of Nice; it is now my intention to extend this inquiry to a few particulars taken from his controversy with Marcellus<sup>2</sup>, both because controversy has usually the

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<sup>1</sup> As cited by Valesius, *ib.*

<sup>2</sup> A very good account of him, and of this controversy, will be found in Cave's *Hist. Liter.* Tom. i. p. 152. Edit. 1688. He was Bishop of Ancyra in Galatia; and, according to Socrates, (*Hist. Eccl. Lib. i. xxxvi.*) he fell, in combating the opinions of the Arians, into the opposite extreme Sabellianism. And this, I think, is obvious enough from the extracts given by Eusebius from his writings. The Council of Jerusalem, having considered this question, ordered him to amend his opinions, and to burn his books. This he promised but neglected to do, and was accordingly deposed by that of Constantinople. He then betook himself to Rome, and laid his case before Pope Julius, declaring

effect of laying open the minds of those engaged in it, to a greater degree than any thing else, on the questions at issue; and also of affording a good opportunity to judge, in what way the several disputants interpreted the documents on which they undertook to argue.

This controversy will, in both these respects, afford us considerable assistance towards ascertaining the truth in the question before us; and particularly in the latter case, as it will bring before us certain passages of Scripture, which could not have failed to call forth the Arian notions of our Author, if indeed he entertained such. An extract from this controversy has been noticed above, as adduced by Socrates in defence of our Author. The first we shall here touch upon, has also been adduced by him for the same purpose; and, as the Scripture which it cites, *seems* to speak of our Lord as *a created being*, it will afford us a good opportunity of seeing how Eusebius dealt with it.

The passage here adduced is Prov. viii. 22, which, according to the Septuagint, reads, “*The Lord created me the beginning of his ways.*” On which our Author says, ‘If one find it once said in the Scripture, *The Lord created me the beginning of His ways for His works*, it is necessary to observe the mind of the passage, which,’ says he, ‘I will shortly do; not, like Marcellus, for the purpose of beating down a principal doctrine of the Church, from one mere expression<sup>3</sup>.’ Socrates then tells us, that Eusebius teaches us in his Third Book<sup>4</sup> (against Marcellus,) how the term *created* ought to be taken here: which he does to this effect.—‘The terms, *The Lord created me the beginning of His ways for His works* are to be considered as consequent on what precedes; and, if he says that *Him-*

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that his writings had been misunderstood and misapplied by his accusers. Upon this the Pope received him into communion, as also did the Council of Sardica, and restored him to his Bishoprick. It is probably to be ascribed to this circumstance, that Roman Catholic writers are often found among his zealous supporters, and that Montfaucon undertook an elaborate, but,—to my mind,—a most unsatisfactory, defence of him; which will be found prefixed to his edition of our Author’s Commentary on the Psalms, p. li. lii. seq.

<sup>3</sup> Socrates, Hist. Eccl. Lib. ii. cap. xxi.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. iii. cap. ii. p. 150 D.

*self was created*, He could not say these things, as implying that He came forth *from nothing into existence*; nor, that He was, *like the other creatures, made out of nothing*: which some have erroneously understood: but, as subsisting (*ὑφἑστως*) indeed, and *Living* (*ζῶν*), and *Preëxisting* (*προῶν*), and *previously having a Being* (*προϋπάρχων*), before the constitution of the whole world; appointed by His own Father and Lord to rule over all things: hence the term *He created* (*ἐκτίσεν*) was said for, *He appointed* (*κατέταξεν*), or, *He established* (*ἢ κατέστησεν*).<sup>1</sup> We then have several passages<sup>1</sup> pointed out, in which *creature*, or *created*, signifies something *appointed, constituted*, or the like; but not *created out of nothing*; and the conclusion is, that this text has respect to the *constituting* of Christ by the Father, the Ruler of all things. We have nothing here therefore, implying in any way, either that our Lord was a *creature*, or that He was, as to *His Divine Essence*, in any respect inferior to the Father; but only as it respected the office of a Minister in *the Divine Economy*, which He took upon himself to hold and to fulfil.

But, that we may enter the more fully into our Author's mind, we must see how he viewed the opinions of his opponent, whose object was—let it be borne in mind,—to prove that he was an Arian. These Eusebius has affirmed were Sabellian. He then gives the following from Marcellus;

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<sup>1</sup> 1 Pet. ii. 13. Amos iv. 13. Ps. l. 11 (Septuagint.) Eph. ii. 15; iv. 24. Theodoret Dialog. 1. advers. Anomæos. Tom. v. p. 281: takes this passage in the Proverbs, as referring to the Incarnation of our Lord; the past tense in, *He created* (*ἐκτίσεν*) being used to imply the thing enounced as present to the Divine mind, as in, "*They pierced my hands and my feet, &c.*" which, he goes on to say, points out "*the mystery hidden from the foundation of the world.*" Eph. iii. 5. John viii. 57, 58, &c. But here I think Eusebius is right, and Theodoret wrong, for this reason; the passage in Proverbs is evidently an imitation of a place in Job, viz. chap. xl. 19: where the *First of the ways of God*, cannot refer to the animal there mentioned, but to the Wisdom of God, had in view: and this *Wisdom* Solomon evidently had before *him*, which the Fathers generally refer to *Christ*. See my translation of the place with the notes. An interpretation of this passage in the Proverbs, not unlike that of Eusebius, was given by Eustathius of Antioch; and it has been preserved by Theodoret, Hist. Eccl. Lib. i. cap. vii.

‘<sup>2</sup> *That there is not, nor did there (ever) preëxist, nor has there at any time existed, a Son of God before his being brought forth by the Virgin: but that he was only a word coëxisting with the Father, being eternally with Him, and united, just as an unspoken word might be with man.* For

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<sup>2</sup> Lib. II. cap. i. contra Marcellum, p. 32. A. it. p. 35. B. This is stated in substance by Montfaucon (Collect. Nov. Patr. Tom. II. cap. II. p. LIII. seq.) to which are added similar statements from Basil, Chrysostom, and Theodoret; to which Epiphanius, and Athanasius have, to a certain extent, expressed their agreement. In cap. III. ib. Montfaucon takes up the defence of Marcellus. His first assertion is, that Marcellus had done only as many Catholics had, who maintained that the *ουσία*, *Essence*, or *ὑπόστασις*, *Hypostasis* of the Father and the Word were one and the same: while Eusebius held, that these were *separate*, and *unequal*: which is not true! A little lower down he tells us that Marcellus, acting against the Sabellians, could not but have held that the *Word* was distinct from the Father. But this is also incorrect. Marcellus was not here writing against the Sabellians, but against the Arians, as he also shews (ib. capp. I. III.). He next cites Marcellus saying, that the *Word of God*, was not a word so called *abusively*, or *figuratively*, (*οὐ λόγον καταχρηστικῶς ὀνομασθέντα*), but was truly a word (*ἀλλ’ ἀληθῶς ὄντα λόγον*): which he tells us means, that the Word was truly *self-existing*, “*verbum exstitisse verè et per se.*” I more than doubt this. All Marcellus says seems to me to be, that the *Word*, in his mind, implied nothing whatever in a sense not (*οὐ καταχρηστικῶς*) strictly its own, but *really and verily a word*, such as he had before described, resting unenounced in the mind of the Father. And this Montfaucon next adduces, declaring that it involves nothing uncatholic, but what agreed with John I. 1. And, what should exceed all wonder, he then tells us, that Athanasius and others read here, *προς τον θεον, και εν τῷ θεῷ*: but, that certain Fathers, to avoid the usages of the followers of Marcellus (Marcelliani), and of others, rejected the terms *εν τῷ θεῷ*. One would hardly have expected this in a defence of the same Marcellus! Montfaucon thinks in the next place, that he finds a real distinction between the Father and the Son, in Marcellus’s citing, “*Let us make man,*” &c. But, Does this necessarily follow, in a writer reasoning as Marcellus does? It is doubtful at best. His next argument (III.) amounts to nothing whatever. In page LX. it is insinuated that Eusebius, with the Arians generally, considered Christ as a *created being*: which is not true! And in the last place, he allows that Marcellus was scarcely excusable, believing that he had so written his book, that he could *easily make that look well, which was in itself really ill.*—And, upon the whole, I do not think that Marcellus, were he to appear again, would thank Montfaucon for this defence.

he (Marcellus) uses this example ; that *a word was within God himself, sometimes at rest, sometimes operating significantly, but proceeding forth by the sole act of the Father.*' After stating some of his objections to this, he proceeds, in his second chapter (ib.) to refute these opinions upon statements taken from the work (now lost) of Marcellus himself. —It is of no concern to us now, whether Eusebius was right or wrong in his statements of the notions of Marcellus: all we wish to ascertain is, How he defended himself against the charges of Arianism brought against him by this writer.

In the fourth chapter then, of his first Book, Marcellus attacks several writers on their opinions respecting the Son, and among these Eusebius. I shall notice only one instance of his reasoning against Asterius<sup>1</sup>, and then proceed to those advanced against Eusebius himself. And this I notice merely to shew, how our Author meets it. It was the object of Marcellus to prove here (p. 24. D.) that the assertions of Asterius, affirming that Christ was God, and at the same time, the image of God, could not hold. His words are, 'How can He, who was born both God and Lord, as he (Asterius) has presumed, possibly be *the Image of God*? For, the Image of God is one thing, and God another; so that if the Image be not Lord, neither is it God, but the Image of God and Lord; but, if it be truly God and Lord, it cannot be the Image of Lord and of God<sup>2</sup>.' This, our Author, affirms is most blindly said: Marcellus not being aware, that a Son endued with a soul might be said to be the Image of His own Father, since He would be in all respects like Him. He then cites Gen. v. 3, to shew<sup>3</sup>, that this was justified by the usage of Scripture. He then quotes the Apostle (Philip. ii. 6, 7), thus speaking *on the Divinity of the Son*, (περὶ τῆς θεότητος τοῦ υἱοῦ.) "Who being in the FORM OF GOD, thought it not robbery to

<sup>1</sup> Who was, according to Socrates, a Sophist of Cappadocia who wrote in favour of the Arian party.

<sup>2</sup> The words of Marcellus are: "πῶς γὰρ ὁ κυρίως (κύριος?) γεννηθείς καὶ ὁ Θεός, ὡς αὐτὸς προλαβὼν ἔφη, δύναται εἰκὼν Θεοῦ εἶναι; ἕτερον γὰρ εἰκὼν Θεοῦ, καὶ ἕτερον ὁ Θεός. ὥστε εἰ μὲν εἰκὼν, οὐ Κύριος οὐδὲ Θεός, εἰ δὲ Κύριος ὄντως καὶ Θεός, οὐκ εἰκὼν Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ εἶναι δύναται."

<sup>3</sup> Also Col. iii. 10. Wisd. vii. 26.

be equal with God; but made himself of no reputation<sup>4</sup>:" and again, (Heb. i. 3) "*Who being the brightness of His glory, and the EXPRESS IMAGE of His person,*" &c. evidently intending to urge the *Divine Nature* of our Lord on the one hand, and *his voluntary humiliation* in taking the office of a ministering servant on the other, in the work of the *Divine Economy*. Marcellus next charges Narcissus and Eusebius (ib. p. 25. C.) with holding, *that there were Two, and even Three* (different) *Essences*<sup>5</sup> (in the Deity),... daring to separate THE WORD OF GOD, and *naming it another God, in substance and power different from the Father*. He then classes our author with Valentinus, Hermes, Narcissus, Plato, and Marcion (ib. p. 26. A). To this, and some subsequent matter, Eusebius thought it sufficient to answer, that his words were those of the Apostle, out of which his opponent had fabricated *two substances and two Gods*<sup>6</sup>: and who had, a little lower down, also charged him from the words of the same Apostle, with affirming that Christ was *a mere man*. I may remark here, If our Author did affirm, either directly or indirectly, that there were *two*, or *three*, distinct *Essences in the Deity*, he could not have been an abettor of Arius. It is sufficiently evident however, that he only spoke of the *Hypostases* or *Subsistences*, believed to exist in the Holy Trinity, as we shall presently

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<sup>4</sup> Lit. Emptied Himself, "ἐκένωσε ἑαυτόν." A passage admirably calculated to express the mind of Eusebius, both as to the *Divinity*, and the *Humiliation* of the Son.

<sup>5</sup> "τρεῖς εἶναι πιστεύειν οὐσίας ἀποκρινόμενον."...i.e. in answer to the question whether he believed *two substances* to exist in the Deity, "*he answers three*."—And it should be remembered here, as noticed above, (p. xxxii.) that οὐσία, *substance*, is to be taken in the sense of ὑπόστασις, *subsistence* or *person*.

<sup>6</sup> Ib. p. 27. A. "τήρει δὲ ταῦτα ὅπως διαλοιδορεῖται πικρῶς, τῷ μηδὲν εἰρηκότι πλείον, ὡς αὐτὸς γράφει, ἢ τὸ ἀποστολικὸν ῥητόν. καὶ νῦν μὲν δύο Θεοὺς λέγειν τὸν Εὐσέβιον ὁμολογεῖ, ὡς ἂν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Θεὸν λέγοντα σὺν τῷ πατέρει." "Nota mihi autem quanto cum felle et acerbitate convitiatur ei, qui nihil prorsus in scripta retulit, præter nuda ipsissimaque Apostoli verba, idque etiam ipso fatente accusatore. Et adhuc qui fatetur hoc in loco Eusebium duos Deos, profiteri, ut puta qui cum Patre suo, una et Filium quoque Deum agnoscat esse."

see. But, what is most important here is, Marcellus bears testimony to the fact, that our Author held the Godhead of the Son, and the existence of the Holy Trinity. His method of stating this, resulted solely from his own Sabellian views of the subject<sup>1</sup>.

Paulinus is next charged (ib. p. 27. C.) with ‘making Christ a God Second in order, and begotten after the human manner;’ also with ‘making Him a creature, and with setting up many gods’ and in this category is our Eusebius included, with the addition, that he had affirmed, not only that there was *one only God*, but that the *true God was one only*. We have nothing to do here with the opinions of Paulinus: the extract is given, because the same things are charged upon our Author. And, What do they amount to? Why, that Christ was considered by him *as God*, holding a *secondary place*: that is, as we have already seen, ‘*thinking it not robbery to be EQUAL WITH GOD, nevertheless taking upon himself the form of A SERVANT.*’ Then again, that he had set up *many gods*: which is only Marcellus’s way of designating the Persons of the *Holy Trinity*: and the same may be said of his gloss on the term *begotten*. But, on his affirming that Eusebius made God (the Father) *the only true God*, Eusebius himself declares that if he had adduced his words, he would have known that he had affirmed no such thing; but, that it was the Saviour who had said, “*that they might know thee the only true God*”<sup>2</sup>.

Now, as our Author’s interpretation of this last passage is all-important to this question, we cannot do better perhaps than adduce it. It is given considerably in detail in his ‘*Eclogæ Prophetarum*,” lately published at Oxford by Dr. Gaisford, (pp. 43—6) where we are told that *Jehovah* sustained under the Old Testament, the same office of *Person sent*, as our Lord does under the New. The terms “*only true God*,” could not therefore,

<sup>1</sup> See also ib. p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> His words are: “καὶ παραθέμενος τὴν Εὐσεβίου λέξιν, συνήσιν, ὡς οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῦ ἢ τὸν πατέρα μόνον ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν διδάσκουσα φωνή· τοῦ δὲ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν εἰρηκότου, ἵνα γινώσκωσί σε τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν Θεόν.” (John xvii. 3.)

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that “*there is one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus*”<sup>1</sup>;” and this, Marcellus himself here allows, he had spoken solely with reference to *the Divine Economy*. If then Eusebius had used the words of Scripture, he had very prudently guarded himself against the imputation, that he intended by them to lower the Divine nature of the Son; which the introduction of the term *Economy* effectually did. I must be allowed to remark here, that it will be difficult to discover what could have induced Marcellus to persevere in a charge like this, when he must have seen that the passage cited was Holy Scripture, and that Eusebius had given a sufficient clue to his view of its meaning; unless indeed the Sabellianism<sup>2</sup>,

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<sup>1</sup> 1 Tim. ii. 5. “εἰς μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἄνθρωπος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.” Marcellus adds, “εἰ τοίνυν ἄνθρωπον αὐτὸν εἶναι φησιν, τῇ κατὰ σάρκα αὐτοῦ μόνῃ προσέχων οἰκονομία, πάντως κάκεινος συνομολογεῖ, τὸ μηδὲ ἔχειν ἐλπίδα ἐπ’ αὐτόν.” κ. τ. λ. “*Mediatorem quoque unum Dei atque hominum constituit hominem Jesum Christum.*” He adds, “*Quod si ergo hominem ideo illum appellet, quod respiceret eam*” (*solam*) “*quæ est secundum carnem, æconomiam, non potest fieri quin simul profiteatur ille, spem se nullam in eo collocari,*” &c. Jer. xvii. 5 is then cited. It is scarcely possible, Marcellus could not have understood what Eusebius meant here, by *the Economy according to the flesh*. He probably thought, as I suspect many others have done, that it would suit his purpose better to disregard this wholly. It should be observed, that the Fathers often use the term *Monarchy*, (ἡ μοναρχία. p. xxxi. above) when speaking of the universal rule of God *in the abstract*, in contradistinction to that of *Economy*; which, as applying to the work of redemption, views the *Holy Trinity* as comprehending the *Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*, with reference to the declarations of Scripture. So Niceph. quoted by Suicer. Thes. Eccl. sub voce. “Εἰς Θεὸς παρ ἡμῖν προσκυνεῖται τριακτικῶς μὲν κατὰ τὴν υποστασιν, μοναδικῶς δὲ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν· καὶ μοναρχία παρ’ ἡμῖν τὸ τιμώμενον, οὐ πολυαρχία.” “*Unus Deus apud nos adoratur: tres quidem personæ secundum hypostasis, unus vero Deus secundum essentiam: et unus apud nos honoratur Deus, non plures dii.*” See also the other examples supplied by Suicer, which will abundantly shew, that *the Monarchy* (ἡ μοναρχία) and *Economy* (ἡ οἰκονομία), thus used, are opposed to one another.

<sup>2</sup> Cyril of Alexandria directly charges Marcellus with being a Sabellian—just as our Auther does—(Script. Vet. Nov. Coll. Tom. viii. p. 58), where he says: “καὶ ἡ τριάς οὐκ ἐν ψιλοῖς τοῖς ὀνόμασι, ἀλλ’ ἐν τοῖς ὑποστάσεσι γνωρίζεται· οὐ γὰρ ἐν λεγομένῳ τριωνυμον, κατὰ τὴν

with which our Author, with others, has charged Him, was the cause of it.

Having so far examined our Author's views in this place, let us now pass on to his Third Book on the Ecclesiastical Theology, also written against Marcellus. We have here then, (cap. iv. p. 168) Marcellus arguing on the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, more particularly as held by our Author<sup>3</sup>; on which Eusebius concludes, that these *three Hypostases* or *Persons*, must in the mind of Marcellus have constituted one and the same being, and have been *only names*; he not seeing, that the Son was said to proceed forth of the Father, as was also the Holy Ghost<sup>4</sup>; nor, being able to understand, how it was said of the Holy Ghost, "*He shall take of mine and shew it to you*" (John xvi. 14); nor, how our Lord breathed on His Disciples, saying, "*Receive ye the Holy Ghost:*" but, which were all easily solved by those whose views were according to piety, when they considered, *that the Son was ever with, and present to, the Father, inwardly as it were, and as existing in the inaccessible and untrodden parts of the Father's Rule: then affirming Himself to have come out of the Father, as sent by Him for the salvation of the human race...*' From whence then came He forth,' asks he, 'but from the most inward Royal apartments of the Father's

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τοῦ Σαβελλίου καὶ φωτεινοῦ καὶ Μαρκέλλου συναίρεσιν τε καὶ σύγχυσις." κ.τ.λ. The *Trinity* too is acknowledged (as existing), not in mere names, but in the *Persons* (or *subsistences*); for we do not say *One three-named* (Being), according to the contraction and confusion (in system) of Sabellius, Photinus, and Marcellus, &c.

<sup>3</sup> And he also allows the consequences contended for by our Author, would be good, provided he could allow his premises which speak of God as generating the Son: his words on this point are: "παν γαρ εκ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον τέλειον εἶναι ἀνάγκη, μηδαμῶς προσδεόμενον τῆς παρ' ἐτέρου βοηθείας." "Nam quod de Patre procedit, omnino necessariò perfectum est, nec ullius alterius indiget auxilio." And much to the same effect Eusebius of Nicomedia, as quoted by Theodoret. Hist. Eccl. Lib. i. cap. vi. p. mihi 22. D.

<sup>4</sup> Eccles. Theolog. Lib. iii. cap. iv. p. 169. B. "εἴτ' αὖ δὲ ἐπὶ σωτηρία τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους πρὸς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπεμπόμενος, ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξελθῆναι ἑαυτὸν ἔλεγεν" ... "διὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸ (τὸ πνεῦμα) εἴρηται."

Divinity<sup>1</sup>? And,' he goes on to say, 'in the same manner *is the Holy Spirit ever present to the Throne of God* (Dan. vii. 10 is then cited): that He is at one time sent, in the form of a Dove, on the Son of man; at another, on each of the Prophets and Apostles; whence He himself is also said to proceed from the Father.' And again, (ib.) 'The only-begotten Son teaches, that *He himself came forth from the Father*, because He *is ever with Him*.' 'And, in like manner, the Holy Spirit, being another *distinct from the Son*<sup>2</sup>. This, too the Son Himself shews when he says,

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<sup>1</sup> The following is a most full recognition of the Divinity of the Son, which I think it right to transcribe. Eccles. Theolog. Lib. i. cap. viii. p. 66. A. "ουτω και νιον Θεου μονογενη, Ιησουν Χριστον παραδιδωσι (η Εκκλησία), τον προ πάντων αιώνων εκ του πατέρος γεγεννημένον ου τον αυτον οντα τῷ πατρί. καθ' εαυτον δε οντα και ζῶντα, και αληθως υιον συνόντα, Θεον εκ Θεου, και φῶς εκ φωτός, και ζωην εκ ζωης. αλέκτοισ και ἀρρήτοις...λόγοις, εκ του πατρός, επί σωτηρία τῶν ὄλων, γεγεννημένον και ουχ ὁμοίως μὲν τοῖς λοιποῖς γεννητοῖς ὑποστάντα. οὐδὲ ζωην ἐμφερῆ τοῖς δι' αυτου γεγεννημένοις ζῶντα· μόνον δὲ ἐξ αυτου του πατρός αποτεχθέντα, και αυτοζωην οντα...ὁ μόνος ἀγαθὸς πατήρ τον υἱον ὑφίστη αυτοζωην οντα, ζωοποιὸν τῶν ὄλων, και αυτὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν." "Ad eundem quoque modum Dei filium unigenitum agnoscit (Ecclesia) eum, qui ante omnia sæcula de Patre fuit genitus: non illum certe, eundem cum Patre existentem, *at per se subsistentem, viventemque verè filium, cum Patre coexistentem, Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, vitam de vita, inenarrabilibus, ineffabilibus...rationibus de Patre genitum, ad salutem universis procurandam: nec vitam viventem cum illis parem qui ab eo sunt creati: solum de solo Patre genitum, ipsammet vitam existentem...qui solus bonus Pater est, Filium progenit suum, ipsammet vitam existentem, et omnium quæ sunt vivificatorem: ipsammet lucem verum.*" Where it should be observed that "*ipsammet*" does, in neither of these cases, express the force of the Greek compound, which is equivalent to the "καθ' εαυτον...ζῶντα, &c. above. The whole of this, and the following chapter (ix.) may justly be considered as our Author's exposition of the Nicene Creed. So again, (ib. p. 121.) "καθ' εαυτον δε ἐστι ζῶν, και ὑφεστως ατε Θεος ων." "*per se vivens est et subsistens, veluti qui Deus sit.*"

<sup>2</sup> P. 169. D. "ὁ δὲ μονογενῆς υἱὸς του Θεου εκ του πατρός ἐξεληλυθῆναι εαυτον διδάσκει, δια τὸ συνειναι αυτῷ πάντοτε, και τὸ ἅγιον δὲ πνεῦμα ὁμοίως ἕτερον ὑπάρχον παρα τον υἱόν." On the office of the Spirit, ib. p. 172. B.... "πρὸς τὸ παρακαλεῖν αυτουσ (i.e. μαθητὰς)

“*He shall take of mine, and shall shew it to you:*” for, he adds, ‘this must clearly establish the point, that the Son and the Holy Spirit are not *one and the same* (person): since that, which receives something from another, is understood (necessarily) as being something different from him who gives.’ We have our author therefore, affirming, *that in the Trinity of Persons, from the First in order, proceeds both the Second and the Third in order: that, as the Son is ever present with—elsewhere in—the Father; so also, is the Holy Spirit ever with Him: and further, that each of these is a personal Agent distinct and different from the other.*

This question is carried on through the next chapter (v.), from which I shall deem it sufficient to make two extracts only, where mention of *the Holy Trinity* is again made, and the Divinity, and distinct Personality, of the Holy Spirit asserted and maintained. On the passage, “*He shall glorify me,*” and “*He shall take of mine*” (p. 173. A. B.), it is said: ‘To understand all these things, as said by the Saviour Himself respecting Himself, would be a grievous and incurable fatuity; for, on the contrary, the Saviour Himself clearly taught by them, that the Holy Ghost was another beside Himself; more eminent, more excellent, and more exalted in honour, glory, and endowments, than any intellectual and rational Essence. Hence,’ it is added, ‘He is also comprehended in *the Holy and thrice blessed Trinity*, not superior (al. inferior), nevertheless to Him (the Son); which He shews when He says, “*For He shall not speak of Himself, but that which He shall hear He shall speak.*” ‘And of whom He shall hear He clearly shews, saying:’ “*He shall take of mine, and shall shew it you*<sup>3</sup>:” ‘that is, out of my treasure:’ “*for in Him are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.*” Where

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καὶ παραμυθεῖσθαι ἐφ’ οἷς κηρύττοντες τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλαυνόντων αὐτοὺς ἔπασχον...ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ διδάξαι αὐτοὺς πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης.” “Qui παρακάλη, id est consoletur, confortet, et adhortetur eos ad patienter sufferendum in Evangelii annunciatione, propter quam erant exagitandi...sed instituendos insuper in omni veritate novi fœderis.”

<sup>3</sup> John xvi. 13, 14. The words are: “ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα ὑπολαμβάνει τὸν Σωτῆρα αὐτὸν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λέγειν, δεινὴ καὶ δυσθεράπευτος συνήθεια

it may be observed, our Author considers the words of our Lord sufficiently clear to determine the point, that the Holy Spirit was *an Agent*, entirely distinct and different from Himself: that in honour, glory, and endowments, He far excelled every rational and intelligent Being, because comprehended in *the Holy and thrice blessed Trinity*<sup>1</sup>: though not superior to Himself (i. e. the Son); which He shews by saying, “*He shall not speak of Himself, but what He shall hear He shall speak.*” ‘From whom He shall hear,’—continues he,—‘He makes clear by saying: “*He shall receive of mine, and shall shew it to you;*” ‘that is, out of my treasure:’ “*For in Him are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge*<sup>3</sup>.” We have here therefore, the Holy Spirit exalted above *every created Being*, because He is comprehended in *the Holy Trinity*, yet not elevated above the Son; nor yet, in honour and dignity placed beneath Him<sup>4</sup>, although receiving from Him

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θεια (al. εὐήθεια). ἀλλὰ γὰρ σαφῶς διὰ τούτων, αὐτὸς ὁ Σωτὴρ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἕτερον ὑπάρχειν παρ’ ἑαυτὸν ἐδίδαξε. τιμῇ μὲν καὶ δόξῃ καὶ πρεσβείοις ὑπερέχον καὶ κρείττον καὶ ἀνώτερον πάσης τῆς νοεράς καὶ λογικῆς τυγχάνον οὐσίας· διὸ καὶ συμπαρείληπται τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ τρισμακαρίᾳ Τριάδι· οὐχ ὑποβεβηκός (al. ὑπερβεβηκός) γέ μὴν εἶναι αὐτοῦ. ὃ δὴ παρίστη εἰπών· οὐ γὰρ ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ λαλήσει, ἀλλ’ ὅσα ἀκούσει λαλήσει. παρὰ τίνος δὲ ἀκούσει, διασαφεῖ λέγων· ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ λήψεται, καὶ ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν. ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ δηλαδὴ θεσανροῦ. ἐν αὐτῷ γάρ εἰσι πάντες οἱ θεσανροὶ τῆς σοφίας ἀποκεκρυμμένοι καὶ γνώσεως.”

<sup>1</sup> See also Præp. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xx. p. 541.

<sup>2</sup> The text has here οὐχ ὑποβεβηκός, which ought, no doubt, to be ὑπερβεβηκός, as the Editor has observed in his notes, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Col. ii. 3.

<sup>4</sup> And, to put this out of all doubt, he adds here: “λέγεται μὲν οὖν, καὶ ὃ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸς Πνεῦμα, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐδίδαξεν ὁ Σωτὴρ, εἰπών Πνεῦμα ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας αὐτὸν, ἐν Πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ δεῖ προσκυνεῖν· καὶ ἔσται ἀληθῶς ἅγιος ἁγίων αὐτὸς, καὶ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπουόμενος.” “Quocirca et Deus qui est super omnia, spiritus dicitur: quemadmodum ipse nos docuit Servator, *Deus spiritus est*, inquit, *et qui adorarit eum, in spiritu et veritate adorare debeat.*” Eritque veraciter sanctus ille Sanctorum, et in sanctis acquiescens. He adds, “ἀλλὰ καὶ ο υἱος του Θεου Πνευμα ὦν τυγχάνει, καὶ Πνευμα καὶ αὐτος ἁγίων ἅγιον. εἰ δὲ εἰκὼν ἔστι τοῦ ἀοράτου. διὸ καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ λέλεκται, ὃ

according to the Divine appointments (or *Economy*), those spiritual things, which it belongs to his office to bestow. And, to assure us that He is not of the same nature or rank with the Angels, he tell us a little lower down (ib. D.), that ‘although His *PROPER appellation* (ιδίωμα) is that of the *Comforter* (παρακλητον); still, no one of the angelic Beings can be equal with Him. He alone is therefore, comprehended in the *Holy and thrice blessed Trinity*<sup>5</sup>. He adds, after citing the commission of the Saviour to His Disciples, *to baptize all nations in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*,—in strict reference to the work of the Divine Economy,—‘*The Father authorizing* (αυθεντουντος) and giving the grace; *the Son administering* this:—“*for grace and truth are by Jesus Christ,*”

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δὲ Κύριος τὸ Πνεῦμά ἐστι.” “Sed et Filius Dei cum Deus sit spiritus est: et Spiritus sanctorum sanctus si modo sit imago invisibilis Dei.” I would merely remark here, that the same Divinity, the same sanctifying power, is ascribed to the Father and to the Son; and that the Holy Ghost is then declared to be a distinct and different Person from each, and is termed the Comforter, (παρακλητον), as shewn in the text. In the preceding page (172. C.) he tells us, that the Apostles were *baptized with the Holy Ghost* at the day of Pentecost, imparting thus to them *the Power* which had been promised from above. Again, (in page 3. ib.) he tells us, after stating that God over all, and the Father of the Only begotten Son, was now to be preached, so was *the power and efficacy of the Holy Ghost*, imparted through the Son to those who were worthy; by which the holy Church of God receives, and keeps, *the Holy, blessed, and mystical Trinity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for a saving hope, through the regeneration which is in Christ...*“τὴν τε τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ, τοῖς ἀξίοις ἐπιχορηγοῦσα δύναμιν. αὐτῷ πως τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ μακαρίαν καὶ μυστικὴν Τριάδα, Πατρός, καὶ υἱοῦ, καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, εἰς σωτήριον ἐλπίδα, διὰ τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ ἀναγεννήσεως ἢ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησία παραλαβοῦσα φυλάττει.” All which, while it implies the one energy of the Deity as existing in the *Monarchy* (ἡ μοναρχία), or, which is the same thing, *the Holy Trinity* considered in the abstract, does, to my mind, clearly and correctly point out a diversity of Persons, as it respects the Divine Economy (ἡ οἰκονομία).

<sup>5</sup> “Ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν τούτων ἐξισουῖσθαι δύναται τῷ παρακλήτῳ πνεύματι. διὸ τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ τρισμακαρίᾳ Τριάδι μόνον τοῦτο συμπαρείληπται.” Which places the Holy Ghost far above all angelic nature, and joins Him in the same Godhead with the Father and the Son.

—*the Holy Spirit, that is, the Comforter Himself, being the Dispenser (χορηγουμενον) of this, according to the division of gifts made by Him:* “*For<sup>1</sup> to one is given, by the Spirit, the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge, according to the same Spirit; to another faith by the same Spirit;*” ‘with those other things recounted in like manner.’ Considering therefore, that Marcellus was attacking our author as an Arian, I do not see how he could have answered him more satisfactorily than he here has done<sup>2</sup>.

There is one passage more which I think it right to adduce here, as affording a good opportunity of calling forth our Author’s Arianism, if indeed he possessed any: it is 1 Cor. xv. 28. “*And when all things shall be subject<sup>3</sup> unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all.*” I must say, if there is one place in Scripture more likely than another, to call forth the Arianism of any writer, it is

<sup>1</sup> Ib. p. 174. A. 1 Cor. xii. 7. seq.

<sup>2</sup> It will be seen how much reliance is to be placed on the statement of Du Pin, as given by Jortin (remarks on Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. Book III. p. 271), when he says, (Eusebius) “in his Præp. Evang. and Demonstr. and Eccles. Theol. affirms that He” (the Holy Ghost) “is not truly God. *The Holy Spirit, says he, is neither God, nor Son of God, because he hath not his origin from the Father, like the Son, but is of the number of things...made by the Son.*” I have not yet been able to find this passage in either of these three works mentioned; the fact is, it is taken from the acts of the seventh general Council, presently to be noticed.

<sup>3</sup> Of the subjection to the Son he says (p. 184. B.), “*υποταγησεσθαι τῷ υἱῷ τὰ πάντα, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐξ αὐθεκουσιου προαιρεσεως υπακοην, καὶ τὴν δόξαν, καὶ τὴν τιμὴν ἣν ἀποδώσει αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, οἷα Σωτῆρι, καὶ βασιλεῖ τῶν ὄλων· τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸ, αὐτὸν ὑποταγήσεσθαι τῷ πατρὶ, οὐδὲν ἕτερον σημαίνει ἂν, ἢ τὴν δόξαν, καὶ τὴν τιμὴν, καὶ τὸ σέβας, τὴν τε μεγαλοπρέπειαν καὶ τὴν αὐθεκούσιον ὑποταγὴν, ἣν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποδώσει τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ, ἐπειδὴν τοὺς πάντας ἀξίους τῆς πατρικῆς θεότητος εἶναι παρασκευάσῃ.*” “*Omnia Filio subjiciuntur.*” “Sed obedientiam voluit de libera procedentem voluntate et gloriam et honorem, et referebant ei omnia, utpote Servatori et Regi omnium: ad eundem modum, et illum subjectum in Patri suo nihil aliud significat, quam gloriam et honorem, et venerationem, et magnificentiam, et voluntariam subjectionem quem redditurus est ipse Deo et Patri, cum universos effecerit dignos divinitate paterna.” He goes on to say (ib. p. 185), after citing Rom. viii. 5. Philip

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*vant and Priest,*" but not in any way tending to interfere with His *Divine nature or Godhead*. I must repeat it therefore, that, as this passage afforded an admirable opportunity for our Author to evince his tendency to Arianism—of which indeed every Socinian, Semiarian, and the like, has ever availed himself—and, as he has thus interpreted it, we cannot by any means consistently believe, that he was inclined to Arianism.

## SECTION IV.

*On the charges of Arianism brought against our Author.*

IT will be quite sufficient to our purpose, to consider only a few of the main objections brought against Eusebius, both, as it would be endless to examine every writer who has favoured the world with his opinions on this subject, and also unnecessary; I shall content myself therefore, with the principal ones advanced by Montfaucon<sup>1</sup>; a writer

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<sup>1</sup> There is however one document which, as it has been made much of by Le Clerc, and also by his constant imitator Dr Jortin, should be noticed: it is a Letter,—cited by the *image-worshipping* Fathers of the seventh general Council, and ascribed by them to Eusebius,—which contains the abominations of Arianism. It will be found among the "Testimonia contra Eusebium," appended by Valesius to his life of Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. i. p. mihi 26: to which he gives this answer: "Neque enim de Eusebii fide agebatur in illa Synodo, sed *de imaginum cultu*, ad quem subvertendum cum adversarii paulo ante in urbe Regia congregati, testimonium ex Eusebii ad Constantiam Epistolâ protulissent, eoque maxime niterentur; *Patres septimæ Synodi ad elevandum testimonii auctoritatem acclamarunt, Eusebium Arianum fuisse.*" And a little lower down: "Proinde testimonium illud Patrum septimæ Synodi adversus Eusebium, etsi maximam habet auctoritatem, *tamen præjudicium potius quam Synodale iudicium nobis videtur.*" From the epistle itself, it is evident that it is no genuine work of his: ascribing as it does to him opinions, not only not to be found in his writings, but actually combated by him; and savouring too strongly of those of Eusebius of Nicomedia, (p. LV. above,) to be ascribed to any other writer. Montfaucon seems to have thought this document too contemptible to deserve notice. Theodoret tells us too, that many such Letters were written by this said Eusebius, not to Alexander, but to Paulinus, Bishop of Tyre. (Eccles. Hist. i. cap. vi.): and Socrates, that our Eusebius *did not favour the Arians*, (Eccles. Hist. ii. cap. xxxi.)

confessedly of the first learning and ability in matters of this kind. The work of this author, which I propose now to examine is, his “Præliminaria in Eusebii Commentaria in Psalmos,” prefixed to the first volume of his “Collectio nova Patrum et Scriptorum Græcorum, Parisiis 1706.”

This writer then, in page xvi. commences his objections thus: “Ab unitate Dei ordiri operæ pretium erit, quam Eusebius in uno Patre servari, neque Filium, multoque minus Spiritum Sanctum, in ejusdam unitatis consortium clare et multis in locis adfirmat.” Then come the proofs. 1. “Patrem enim in se totam deitatis plenitudinem, *excluso Filio*, complecti indicat, dum ipsum solum passim vocat, τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεὸν, τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸν, τὸν ἐπίκεινα πάντων θεόν: id est, *Deum universorum, Deum supra omnia, Deum ultra omnia.*” I answer: Nothing can be more certain, than that Eusebius does frequently speak of God in these terms. But I ask, Are we to conclude merely because he thus speaks of *the God of all, who is over all, beyond all*, and the like, that he thereby intends to exclude *the Son*, and much more the *Holy Ghost*<sup>2</sup> from partaking in His unity, and universal rule? From what we have

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<sup>2</sup> From charges such as this brought frequently against our Author, one is tempted to imagine, that he was one of those who held that there was a *great, a greater, and a greatest Deity*; which, according to some, was first introduced by Arius. So Greg. Presb.: “Μεγαν θεὸν του πατέρα, καὶ μικρὸν τὸν υἱὸν, καὶ κτίσμα τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἔλεγον (sc. οἱ Ἀρειανοί)” “Dixerunt magnum Deum esse Patrem, et parvum Filium, et creaturam Spiritum Sanctum.” So also Greg. Nazian. “ἐκ μεγάλου, καὶ μείζονος, καὶ μεγίστου συνιστᾶν τὴν τριάδα.” “ex magno, et majori, et maximo constituere Trinitatem.” Suicer. Thes. Eccles. sub voce Τριάς. I will remark here that, if the views, under which Trinitarians consider and speak of the Persons of the Holy Trinity,—supposing they used no terms but those found in the Scriptures,—are to be disregarded; it will perhaps be difficult to say which of them can escape the charge of Arianism. Cave thinks, that Eusebius was not so careful in expressing himself on this question, as he might have been, and that he was, on this account, misunderstood and misrepresented. It should be remembered, he lived in the earliest times of this controversy, and was therefore likely to speak less cautiously than those who came after him; but, on this account, he should be read with the greater care.

already seen, it appears to have been customary with the orthodox Fathers, when speaking of God *in the abstract*, or with respect to his *sole rule*, (*ἡ μοναρχία*) in opposition to the Polytheists, constantly to use these terms; and yet to have declared that they did not thus exclude either the Son, or the Holy Ghost, from the unity of the Godhead. And the same is obvious from our Author's reasoning above. In one place he expressly tells us (p. lxiii.) that, our Saviour's using the terms, "*The only true God*," does not *exclude Him (the Son)* from participating in the Godhead: nor does the apostolic declaration, that "*Christ shall be subject to His Father, that God may be all in all.*" And, the repeated declarations, that the *Holy Ghost is comprehended*,—notwithstanding His office of minister in the *Divine Economy*,—in the *Holy and Thrice blessed Trinity*, and is of a nature *superior to every intellectual and spiritual Essence*, are quite sufficient, as it appears to me, to establish the same of Eusebius.

But there are other places, of which Montfaucon could not have been ignorant, positively declaring that the Son is *not excluded*, when terms of this description are used. If we turn to the forty-third chapter of Isaiah in his edition of our Author's commentary on this Prophet, we shall find (p. 523), first, that the person there named *the Lord God*, ("*κύριος ὁ Θεός*") is said to be Christ, who gave his own blood for the redemption of Israel: and generally, throughout this Commentary, the Saviour is designated in terms equivalent to these. Again, (ib. v. 10.) we are instructed that the words, "*saith the Lord God, and my servant, whom I have chosen*" (*λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός, καὶ ὁ παῖς μου, ὃν ἐξελέξαμην*) refer also to our Lord, in conformity with Matth. x. 32. "*Whosoever shall confess me,*" &c. And (ver. 11), on the words, "*I am God, and besides me there is no Saviour*" (*Εγὼ ὁ Θεός, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι πάρεξ ἐμοῦ σῶζων*), it is said: '*There being one principle*<sup>1</sup>, *there must be one Godhead, in which is also comprehended the Theology of His only begotten Son;*' by which we are, according to the technical usage of this term, to understand

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<sup>1</sup> See p. xl. above, notes.

*the Divine nature of Christ*<sup>2</sup>. To the same effect, (ib. p. 527. D.) on chap. xliv. 7: also (ib. 532. A. seq.) on chap. xliv. 7. seq. 22. (p. 535. D. E. 536. A. seq.): to which many other places might be added; all manifestly referring to the Person of Christ, when the *only true God and Saviour* is spoken of. Which will probably be deemed sufficient here.

Let us now examine a few of the more specific objections of Montfaucon. ‘Let<sup>3</sup> no one,’ says he, ‘reply that

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<sup>2</sup> Gr. “μιας γὰρ οὔσης ἀρχῆς, μία εἶη ἂν ἡ θεότης, ἢ συμπαραλαμβάνεται καὶ ἡ τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ θεολογία.” As this latter term (θεολογία) has a technical application with the Fathers, it is desirable the reader should see how they use it. According to Suicer, sub voce, it is applied in four ways, 1. “Notat doctrinam de Deo.” 2. “Notat doctrinam de SS Trinitate.” 3. “Notat divinam Christi naturam, seu doctrinam de ea.” This is its import here: I shall therefore, give a few of the places cited by Suicer under this head. “Greg. Nyss. Orat. iv. contra Eunomium, Tom. II. p. 533. dicit Johannem Evangelistam κερυσσειν τὸ μυστήριον τῆς θεολογίας, *Theologia*, vel potius *de deitate Filii mysterium prædicare*. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. III. cap. xxiv....de eodem Johanne asserit, *eum θεολογίας ἀπάρξασθαι, à deitate Filii suum incohare Evangelium*.” And a little lower down, “Greg. Nyss. Orat. vii. contra Eunomium, p. 633.” “Ἐι Θεὸς ὁ πατήρ, Θεὸς δὲ καὶ ὁ υἱός, τις ἐτι καταλείπεται πρὸς τὴν ακριβῆ τῶν μονογενοῦς θεολογίαν ἀμφιβολία;” “*Si Pater est Deus, et Deus etiam est Filius: quænam ad exactam de unigenito theologiam relinquitur dubitatio?*” And again: “Hic observandum,” says Suicer, “θεολογίαν et οἰκονομίαν apud Patres frequenter inter se opponi, quemadmodum οἰκονομία et θεοτης, de quo in Οἰκονομία. Θεολογία ad divinam, οἰκονομία verò ad humanam referatur naturam” Chrysost. Hom. cvi. Basil. Cæsar. Epist. cxli. p. 927. are cited; the latter of which is important to our question, and I shall give it. On John xvii. 3. (cited above), and xiv. 1, Basil thus writes: πανταχοῦ τὴν ἔννοιαν ἡμῶν ἀσφαλιζομένου τοῦ πνεύματος ἁγίου, ἵνα μὴ θατέρω προσβαίνοντες, θατέρου ἐκπίπτωμεν καὶ τῇ θεολογίᾳ προσέχοντες, τῆς οἰκονομίας καταφρονῶμεν. “*Ubique mentes nostras confirmat Spiritus Sanctus, ut ne dum alteri acquiescimus, ab altero excidamus, hoc est, ne, dum ad naturam divinam attendimus, naturam humanam contemnamus*.” Several other passages are adduced to the same effect.—The fourth acceptation of this term, which he tells us is less obvious, is, its signifying Holy Scripture.

<sup>3</sup> Ne quis vero reponat, Patrem ideo Deum universorum ab Eusebio vocari, quod sit origo et fons Trinitatis, et in ratione principii primus existat; hoc catholicum interpretandi genus respuere occupat Eusebius, dum

Eusebius hence calls the Father, the *God of all*, because He is the origin and source of the Trinity, and is, as to principle, first: this Catholic mode of interpreting,' adds he, 'Eusebius undertakes to set aside, when he says, p. 424, on the tenth Psalm of Asaph, *That no one might suppose Him to be a mere man, like the many, he (the Psalmist) Deifies Him in the words before us, saying, "God stood in the assembly of Gods. And that no one should be disturbed as to the question of the MONARCHY, on hearing the Christ of God called God, he properly names those, many Gods, who are laid under accusation by the things following (i. e. in this Psalm): almost commanding (them) not to hesitate to call the Son of God, God. For, if the criminated governours of the nation were worthy of being called gods, What danger could there be, in confessing the man of the right hand of God, and the Son of man "made strong" (for Himself, Ps. lxxx. 17.) to be God? 'And this still more clearly,' adds Montfaucon, 'in the exposition of the eighty-eighth psalm, p. 560: (Heb. lxxxix.) to this effect:*

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dum ait, p. 424. ad Psalmum Asaphi decimum:" "ἵνα μή τις αὐτὸν ψιλὸν ὑπολάβοι ἄνδρα καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὅμοιον, θεολογεῖ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς μετὰ χεῖρας, φήσας· ὁ θεὸς ἔσται ἐν συναγωγῇ θεῶν. καὶ ὅπως μὴ ταραχθεῖη τις εἰς τὸν περὶ μοναρχίας λόγον, θεὸν ἀκούων τὸν χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰκότως καὶ πλείονας θεοὺς ὀνομάζει τοὺς διὰ τῶν ἐξῆς κατηγορουμένους, μονονουχὶ παρακελευόμενος μὴ ἀποκνεῖν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ θεὸν ἀποκαλεῖν. εἰ γὰρ οἱ διαβαλλόμενοι τοῦ ἔθνους ἄρχοντες, θεοὶ ἠξιώθησαν ὀνομασθῆναι, ποῖος ἂν γένοιτο κίνδυνος τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς δεξιᾶς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸν κεκραταιωμένον, θεὸν ὁμολογεῖν;"... "Clarius autem in expositione psalmi lxxxviii. p. 560. id ipsum exprimit his verbis:" "Δοκεῖ δὲ μοι ὁ προφήτης... ὑπερεκπλήττεσθαι τὸν ἐπέκεινα πάντων, καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντας τὸν μονογενῆ τοῦ θεοῦ· εἶτ' ἐκ τοῦ θαύματος ἀναπεφωηκέναι τὸ ὅτι τίς ἐν νεφέλαις ἰσωθήσεται τῷ κυρίῳ;... ταῦτα δὲ περὶ μὲν τοῦ μονογενοῦς τοῦ θεοῦ λεγόμενοι σῶζοι ἂν εὐσεβῆ τὴν διάνοιαν, οὐ μὲν περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ θεοῦ τῶν ὄλων. ἀνοίκειος γὰρ καὶ ἀσεβῆς ἡ παράθεσις. τὸ γὰρ υἱοῖς θεοῦ παραβάλλειν τὸ πάντων αἴτιον, καὶ τὸ συγκρίνειν ἑτέροις τολμᾷν τὸν ἐπέκεινα τῶν ὄλων θεὸν, πάντων ἂν γένοιο ἀνοσιώτατον, ἀκίνδυνος δ' ἂν εἴη ὁ λόγος υἱοῖς θεοῦ συγκρίνειν υἱὸν μονογενῆ." κ. τ. λ. "Hic manifestè vides Filium longe inferiore quam Patrem gradu ab Eusebio reponi; ita ut nec ad unitatem Dei, nec ad unitatem principii universorum pertineat, neque deitate cum illo primo principio unum sit."

‘*The Prophet seems astonished at the consideration of Him who is beyond all, the only begotten Son of God, and then to have cried out in his wonder, Who in the clouds shall be equalled with the Lord? &c....which, as spoken of the Son, evince a pious mind; but, as spoken of the Father and God of all, would present an improper and impious comparison. For, to compare Him who is the God of all, with the sons of God, and to dare to join the God who is beyond all, with others, would be of all things the most wicked. But it would incur no danger to compare the only-begotten Son of God with the sons of God,*’ &c. Which Montfaucon affirms, shews that Eusebius placed the Son far beneath the Father in dignity, so that He could not appertain to the unity of the Godhead, nor to that of the *Principle* of all things, nor to be one in the Deity of that first principle.

It must be perceived at first sight, that the whole of this, as before, rests on mere inference: I now proceed to shew, that the inference is groundless. The place from which our first extract is made, is our Author’s commentary on Ps. lxxxii. ‘*God,*’ it is said “*standeth in the assembly of Gods;*” where, according to our Author, *God* refers to Christ; *gods*, to the governours of the Jewish nation. ‘If then,’ he adds, ‘these governours (judges) were here so named by the Psalmist, What possible danger can there be, in ascribing the Divine name to Christ? The Psalmist,’ he continues, ‘almost commands this,’ &c. Montfaucon then concludes upon the whole, that by this, i. e. as our Lord is here put in opposition to men only in the comparison, he is necessarily excluded from having any part in the Deity of the Father. But, Is this really the intention of our Author? All that he says, as far as I can see, is, that if these governours are thus dignified with the name of gods, much more ought He to be, whose place is the right hand of God. The argument is that, which is usually said to be *a fortiori*, i. e. makes its conclusion the stronger by introducing such comparison as this: which would induce one to believe, that Eusebius intended the very reverse of Montfaucon’s conclusion.

It is interesting to observe, that this very Psalm has been cited, and this same comparison instituted by our Lord Himself, apparently for the purpose of convincing the

Jews of *His Divine nature*. We have in ver. 6 of this Psalm; “*I have said ye are Gods*” In John x. 33. seq. it is said: “*The Jews answered him, saying, for a good work we stone thee not; but for blasphemy; and because that thou, being a man, makest thyself God.*” Our Lord then cites this verse, and adds, “*If he called them gods, unto whom the word of God came, and the Scripture cannot be broken: Say ye of him, whom the Father hath sanctified, and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest; because I said, I am the Son of God?*” He adds,—“*Believe the works, that ye may know and believe, that THE FATHER IS IN ME, AND I IN HIM.*” Upon this it is said, “*therefore they (the Jews) sought again to take him.*” Because, as it should seem, He thus persevered in laying claim to *the Divine nature*. Is it not marvellous, that a writer of such learning and discrimination as Montfaucon really was, should thus have stumbled upon the very Scripture which our Lord himself had so explained, and have unhappily taken a view, as adverse to His interpretation of it, as it is to that of Eusebius?

It should also be observed, that, if our Author intended to exclude Christ from having any part in *the Godhead*, it will be extremely difficult to discover, why he prefaced his reasoning with these words: *That no one might suppose Him to be a mere man, like the many, he (the Psalmist) Deifies<sup>1</sup> Him in the terms, “God stood (ὁ θεός, with the article prefixed) in the assembly of Gods;”* when he had

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<sup>1</sup> This term (θεολογέω) has, according to Suicer (sub voce) three acceptations. 1. *To speak of the Deity, to dispute theologically, &c.* 2. *To assert the Deity of any one, (a) of the Holy Trinity, (b) of God the Father, (c) most frequently of God the Son.* Greg. Nyss. Tract. ii. in Ps. ix. Tom. i. p. 318. Θεολογεῖν τον μονογενῆ Θεον. *Unigenæ Deo deitatem adscribere.* Θεολογεῖν Χριστόν, est *Christo deitatem asserere, sive naturam ejus divinam contra Arianos defendere, apud Eusebium Hist. Eccl. Lib. v. cap. xxviii. p. 56. b, apud Socratem, Lib. vii. cap. xxxi. p. 275. A. &c....* Eusebius Demonstr. Evang. Lib. v. p. 133. Ἡ εὐαγγελικὴ μαρτυρία ᾧδε τὸν Χριστόν θεολογεῖ, Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, &c. “*Testimonium Evangelii hoc loco Christo deitatem asserit, In principio erat Verbum, &c.* Θεολογεῖν ἐν πατρὶ τὸν υἱόν, veteres dixerunt, quando à Patre non excluditur Filius, sed cum eo, tanquam verus Deus, conjungitur,” &c. which the student of theology would do well thoroughly to examine

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to be the case; but, Is it necessary to suppose that it does, beyond all doubt, present us with the intention and mind of Eusebius? Let us inquire.—First then, he instructs us in the same page of his Commentary<sup>1</sup> (560. E. seq.) that the place is to be understood, just as that is, which was last considered, viz. “*God stood in the assembly,*” &c. And this, as we have seen, was intended to *assert*, not to deny, *the Divinity of the Son.*

In the next place, Eusebius speaks of the only begotten Son,—even as cited by Montfaucon,—as the *Being who is beyond all, and above all*<sup>2</sup>, (τὸν ἐπέκεινα πάντων, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Gr. “εἰ δὲ πολλοὶ υἱοὶ θεοῦ καὶ θεοὶ κατὰ τὸ, ὁ θεὸς ἔστι ἐν συναγωγῇ θεῶν.” “Quod si multi filii Dei sunt multique dii, secundum illud, *Deus stetit in synagoga deorum.*” And again, (p. 561. C.) “τίνας ὁ ἂν εἶεν οἱ περικυκλω αὐτου, ἀλλ’ ἢ οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ αὐτοὶ θεοὶ χρηματίζοντες, δι’ οὓς εἴρηται, ὁ θεὸς ἔστι ἐν συναγωγῇ θεῶν...ἐν καὶ ταῦτόν εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ.” κ.τ.λ. “Quinam autem in circuitu ejus fuerint, nisi filii Dei, qui et ipsi quoque dii nuncupantur: quorum causa dictum est, *Deus stetit*, &c....unum et idem esse videtur mihi.” And speaking of the service rendered by these heavenly powers he adds, pointedly marking *the Divinity of the Saviour*: “ἐπειδὴ γὰρ κυνατος εἶ φησὶν, καὶ ἡ ἀλήθειά σου κύκλω σου, εἰκότως μέγας εἶ, καὶ φοβερὸς εἶ, καὶ ἐνδοξαζόμενος εἶ ἐν βουλῇ ἀγίων, καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῆν σὴν θεότητα περιπολοῦσιν, οἱ τῶν σῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν συνορῶντες, τὰς πρεπούσας εὐχαριστίας μετὰ θαυμασμοῦ τῆς σῆς θεότητος ἀναπέμπουσιν.” “Nam quia potens es, Domine, inquit, et veritas tua in circuitu tuo, jure magnus es, et terribilis et glorificatus in consiliis sanctorum et in iis qui *Deitatem stipant tuam*, qui conspecta promissorum tuorum veritate debitas cum admiratione *Deitatis tuæ* gratiarum actiones emittunt.” Now, let it be asked,—considering the opinions held by Eusebius about Deity, and, that this was intended to be a representation of what was going on in heaven itself,—whether it is possible an Arian, intending to *lower the dignity of the Saviour*, could have uttered respecting Him sentiments such as these, and which occur in the very next page to that from which Montfaucon made his extract? A little farther on (p. 567) he asks, *On what account is this people of Christ blessed, who know the song of jubilee (here) spoken of, otherwise than since they acknowledge THE DEITY of the Saviour?* “διὰ τί δὲ μακάριός ἐστιν οὗτος ὁ χριστοῦ λαὸς ὁ τὸν εἰρημένον ἀλαλαγμὸν ἐπιστάμενος, ἀλλ’ ἢ ἐπειδὴ περ τὴν θεότητα τοῦ σωτῆρος ἐπιγιγνώσκων.”

<sup>2</sup> Ib. also p. 564. A. “ἀληθεύειν δέ σε τὸν θεὸν ὄντα καὶ κύριον τῶν ὄλων πεπεῖσθαι χρὴ, ...καὶ δυνατὸς εἶ μόνος καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντας

ὑπὲρ πάντας), ascribing to Him the very same epithets that he does to the Father; and this, as distinguishing Him from the company of holy Angels, Archangels, and other Divine Spirits and Powers (αγιων αγγελων, καὶ αρχαγγελων πνευμάτων τε θείων καὶ δυνάμεων χορόν); which last, however, Montfaucon omitted to cite. From this it should seem, that it was our Author's expressed intention, as before, to elevate the Saviour *above every created being, however dignified*. He also tells us, that the Prophet here seemed,—filled as he was by the Holy Ghost,—to be viewing *the glory of the only begotten of God*, and standing in the midst of the Church of the saints (“ὁ προφήτης ἅγιω πνεύματι θεοφορηθεὶς . . . τὴν δόξαν ἑωρακέναι τοῦ μονογενοῦς τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐν μέσῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῶν ἁγίων ἐστῶτος”). A similar vision has already been noticed (p. xxxiv. note), in which Isaiah saw “*Jehovah high and lifted up;*” and where St. John (xii. 41) has interpreted this, as belonging to Christ. We can hardly expect our author would think of giving a less dignified interpretation of this place; especially as the terms “*viewing the glory,*” &c. (τὴν δόξαν ἑωρακέναι) could scarcely have failed to bring to his mind the words of St. John, “*when he saw his glory*” (“ὅτε εἶδε τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ”): and, if so, he could hardly have intended to point out here a Being inferior to that mentioned there, which was *Jehovah* himself. And again, the passage here had in view (Ps. lxxxix. 7) has, in the Hebrew text, the term *Jehovah*; where the whole passage stands thus: כִּי מִי בַשָּׁמַיִם יַעֲרֶךְ לִיהוָה יְדֹמָה לִיהוָה בְּבִנְיָאֵלִים.

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...πάντοτε σὺ κρατεῖς, καὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων οὐσίας σὺ δεσπόζεις, ἐπεὶ καὶ ποιητῆς τῶν ὅλων τυγχάνεις...τῶν τε τὴν σὴν θεότητα περιπολούντων ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων οἰκητήρια...καὶ σὺ πάντων κρατεῖς, κύριος ὢν καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ θεός” “Te porro utpote *Deum et Dominum universorum*, veracem credere convenit...*solusque ac super omnes potens es...Tu ubique imperas, et universorum substantiæ dominaris, quia universorum opifex es...Angelorum et Archangelorum Deitatem tuam stipantium, domicilia...et tu omnibus imperes, utpote omnium Dominum, Rex et Deus.*” And p. 565. E. “μετὰ γὰρ τοῦ θέλει καὶ τὸ δύνασθαί σοι οἶα θεῶ καὶ δεσπότη τῶν ὅλων πάρεστι.” “cum voluntate quippe tibi, utpote *Deo et Domino universorum*, adest potestas.” I do not see how words could have attested the Divinity of Christ more strongly. See also the “*Eclogæ Prophetarum,*” p. 32.

Auth. Vers. “*For who in heaven can be compared unto the LORD? who among the sons of the mighty can be likened unto the LORD?*” And, as our Author has occasionally marked down the readings of the Hebrew text in his Commentary on this psalm, I shall perhaps be justified in taking it for granted, that he was aware of this fact. So far, there seems to have been no intention on his part, to place the Son of God in the predicament of a creature.

Let us now see, to what the objectionable comparison amounts. This, Eusebius has told us, might, without any danger, have been instituted with the Son. That is, as I understand it, for the purpose of shewing, that He was exalted far above every created intelligence, and therefore *Divine*, in the highest sense of that term. This, he seems to say, would have point and force here, and would evince *true piety* in any one who did it: but, if said with respect to the Father, would be *improper* (*ανοικειος*): that is as I understand it, would have been to compare mortal and finite beings, with a Spirit which is immortal and infinite, and with whom no such comparison could *properly* be instituted. It would be *impious* (*ασεβής*), not only because it would have been a daring attempt to set up a measure of those attributes, of which man can have no adequate conception; but would have had the effect of *positively excluding the Son*, who is, beyond all doubt, the Being had in view throughout this psalm. It would have been to judaize to the fullest extent, and therefore would have been *impiety of the grossest and blindest sort*. I must conclude therefore here, that the inferences of Montfaucon drawn from this passage are groundless, and not to be relied on; and, on the contrary, that Eusebius did in this instance, as in those already noticed, intend to maintain the *proper Divinity* of the *only begotten Son*. And Why, let it be asked, did not Montfaucon bring forward some of the many passages, also occurring in the Commentary on this very psalm, positively asserting the *Divinity of the Son*, and shew us, how these ought to be understood conformably with his objections? This, I will affirm, he was in honour and honesty bound to do. His not having done so, can perhaps be ascribed to one cause only, namely, his inability to do it.

The next objectionable passage adduced (p. xvii.) is from the “*Demonstratio Evangelica*” of our author (lib. vi. p. 257), where mention is made of a *first* and *second Deity*. But, as we have already seen that Eusebius did not, by this distinction, intend to lower the Divinity of the Son; and, as Montfaucon seems to have adduced it quite as much for the purpose of correcting the Latin translation of it, as of accusing him, it will not be necessary to notice it further.

His next citation (ib.) is of a different description, although it was made for the purpose of giving weight to the last; and, as this has also been brought forward by Le Clerc, and repeated after him by Jortin, I deem it right to give it a full consideration. It is taken from the Controversy with Marcellus (p. 109), and runs thus: “*οὐδὲ δύο θεοὺς ἀνάγκη δοῦναι τὸν τὰς δύο ὑποστάσεις τιθέντα· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἰσοτίμους αὐτὰς ὀρίζομεθα.*” “*Neque necesse est eum duos Deos fateri, qui duas admiserit substantias: non enim illas honore pares esse definimus.*” Which Montfaucon tells us, so far allows the unity of the Deity, as it preserves the primary Deity and first principle, in the Father only; to which God the Son is far inferior, and is not comprehended in that unity<sup>1</sup>. The same, he continues, is affirmed in these words:—viz. of another extract from the same place.—“*Ἄλλα φοβῆ, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, μὴ δύο ὑποστάσεις ὁμολογήσας, δύο ἀρχὰς εἰσαγάγοις, καὶ τῆς μοναρχικῆς θεότητος ἐκπέσοις. μάνθανε τοίνυν, ὡς ἐνὸς ὄντος ἀνάρχου καὶ ἀγεννήτου θεοῦ, τοῦ δὲ υἱοῦ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγεννημένου, μία ἔσται ἀρχή, μοναρχία τε καὶ βασιλεία μία. ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ υἱὸς ἀρχὴν ἐπιγράφεται τὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα. κεφαλὴ γὰρ χριστοῦ ὁ θεὸς, κατὰ τὸν ἀπόστολον.*” “*At vereris, mi homo, ne si duas fateare substantias*” (*hypostases*), “*duo item principia inducas, et a monarchica deitate excidas. Discas igitur, quod cum unus sit sine*

<sup>1</sup> His words, which I have here paraphrased, are, “*Ita ut eatenus unitatem deitatis statui velit, quatenus illa prima deitas, primumque principium in uno Patre servatur, cui longe inferior Deus Filius, in unitate illa non comprehendatur.*” I add, all the orthodox Fathers, I believe, also made the Father *Principle* in the Divine Economy: but did not,—as Eusebius did not—therefore exclude the Son from *the Divine Unity*.

*principio et ingenitus Deus, Filius autem ex illo gignatur, unum necessario principium fuerit, monarchia et regnum unum; quia ipse Filius Patrem suum principium adscribit: caput enim Christi Deus est, secundum Apostolum."*

Let us now endeavour to ascertain what Eusebius really meant by this. We must bear in mind, in the first place, that he was here arguing with a man who held, that *Christ, THE WORD*, had *no real and positive existence* (οὐσία), or *Hypostasis* (ὑπόστασις), in the God-head; but remained only as an accident to the Divine mind, as a mere unannounced *word*; and hence, as remarked above, the term *word* was not here to be understood (καταχρηστικῶς) i. e. in an *abused* or *figurative sense*, but in its own *proper* force and meaning. And hence, our Author used the term *Hypostasis* (ὑπόστασις) in the first extract here given, and *substance* (ουσια) in that from the "Demonstratio Evangelica." It has also been shewn above (p. xxxii), that the term (ουσία) *substance*, was often used in the sense of *Hypostasis* (υποστασις), when arguing against Marcellus and his followers. This must suffice on this part of our question.

We now come to the more important parts of these extracts, in which it is said (i.) that the Father and the Son are not *of equal honour* (οὐκ ἰσοτιμοὺς). and (ii.) that the *Father* is the *Principle* of the *Son*; ascribing in each case a superiority to the Father. Let it be observed, in the first place then, that our Author does affirm, and in the very chapter from which these extracts have been made (p. 111), that the Church teaches,—having itself been taught by the Saviour,—that "*the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son; that all SHOULD HONOUR THE SON, even as they HONOUR THE FATHER*<sup>1</sup>." It is but right to inquire therefore,

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<sup>1</sup> John v. 22, 23. His words are: "ἡ Ἐκκλησία αὐτοῦ δεδίδακται, τοῦτο πράττειν παρ' αὐτοῦ μαθοῦσα· λέγει δ' οὖν αὐτὸς ὁ σωτήρ. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ πατήρ κρίνει οὐδένα, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἅπασαν κρίσιν δέδωκε τῷ υἱῷ· ἵνα πάντες τιμῶσι τὸν υἱὸν, καθὼς τιμῶσι τὸν πατέρα." He had just before said, quoting St. John i. 3, "πάντα γὰρ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν· τμηκαῦτα καὶ Θεός, καὶ δεσπότης, καὶ σωτήρ, καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀναγορεύοιτο ἄν. διὸ καὶ

how Eusebius intended to be understood, when he made these apparently conflicting statements.

The manner, in which Eusebius words our last extract, is, I think, quite sufficient to clear him from the charge of intending to deny the Divinity of the Son. His words are to this effect: You (Marcellus) are afraid, lest by confessing two *substances*<sup>2</sup>, (*Hypostases*, or *Persons*,) you should introduce *two Principles*, and so should fall short of the one supreme Deity. Learn then, that since there is one God ungenerated and without beginning; and that, as the Son *is generated of Him*, there will necessarily be (but) *one Principle, one monarchy, and kingdom*: because the Son himself ascribes *the Principle* to His Father: for “*the Head of Christ is God*” according to the Apostle; and this, as Montfaucon affirms, excludes the Divinity of the Son. But, Does this necessarily follow from these words?

Eusebius, it should be remembered, was arguing against a writer who denied the existence of the *Person* (οὐσία or ὑπόστασις) of the Son, and who supposed that if he allowed this, he should also allow the existence of two Gods; and so virtually destroy the notion of the *unity* of the Deity. He is then admonished, that *the Deity*, considered in the abstract, is *one eternal*, and un-

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σέβειν, καὶ προσκυνεῖν, καὶ τιμᾶν αὐτὸν οἷα Θεὸν, ἢ Ἐκκλησία.” κ. τ. λ. “*Omnia...per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil. Tum et Deus, et Dominus, et Servator, et Rex prædicari poterit*” Atque ideò illud” (eum) “*adorare veluti Deum, et colere, et venerari, Ecclesia,*” &c. And again he tells us here, of what sort the honour is which is to be rendered to Christ:...“*μη̄ ὁμοίως τοῖς προφήταις, μηδ̄ ὁμοίως τοῖς Ἀγγέλοις, ἢ ταῖς τούτων διαφερούσαις δυνάμεσι, ἀλλ̄ αὐτῷ τῷ πατρὶ παραπλησίως.*”...“*Non tanquam Prophetas, non velut Angelos, aut Angelis similes potestates*”(?), *sed quemadmodum ipsum Patrem.*” I might therefore, if I thought it right to deal with Montfaucon as he has with Eusebius, have deemed it quite sufficient, merely to confront his citation with these.

<sup>2</sup> According to Justin Martyr, Suicer. Thes. Eccles. sub voce Τριάς. Tom. II. p. 1300. the terms *ungenerated* and *generated* are only names signifying modes of existence, not kinds of Essence. “*οὐκ οὐσίας ονοματα, ἀλλὰ τρόποι ὑπάρξεως.*”

*begotten Being*; and that as the Son is, according to *the Divine Economy, generated of Him*<sup>1</sup>, consists of His Essence, subsists in Him, and is ever present with Him; there will still be but *one Principle, Monarchy, and Kingdom*: the Son Himself (although Divine in His nature), ascribing this supremacy (*as Son*) to the Person of God the Father: which is amply confirmed elsewhere by our author's asserting, that *the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, constitute one Principle*<sup>2</sup>, are included in the *same holy Trinity*<sup>3</sup>, and partake of the same *Essence and Godhead*<sup>4</sup>, as already shewn. And with this view

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<sup>1</sup> Montfaucon tells us (ib. p. xviii.), that he has rendered ὑπόστασις *hypostasis*, by *substance*, because it was customary in the times of Eusebius so to receive this term, as Athanasius has also done; and also, as Eusebius both admitted and taught, that the *substances* of the Father and of the Son, were diverse, the common distinction of *Persons* and *Hypostases* would be useless. That is to say, as this term was then in use, and Athanasius himself had used it *in the same way*; it is right to condemn Eusebius because he has so used it; yet, as I (Montfaucon) can assure you for a totally different purpose. One cannot but wonder, I think, in finding reasoning such as this in the deservedly eminent Bernard Montfaucon. He proceeds then to affirm, that Eusebius has in these two extracts OPENLY professed *two divers substances (Hypostases)* in the Father and the Son; and adds, that He who places the unity of Principle and of Deity in the Father, *excluding the Son*, must necessarily lay down two diverse substances. But Eusebius has *openly* done neither: the whole is a mere inference on false grounds. The reasoning too, affords as fine an instance of arguing in a circle, as I remember ever to have seen!

<sup>2</sup> Page xl. note.

<sup>3</sup> Ib notes.

<sup>4</sup> See particularly our work below, pp. 178-9. So also Basil de Spiritu Sancto, Suicer. Thes. Eccles. sub. voce Μοναρχία. “Θεον καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ προσκυνοῦντες, καὶ τὸ ἰδιάτον τῶν ὑποστάσεων ὁμολογοῦμεν, καὶ μένομεν ἐπὶ τῆς μοναρχίας, εἰς πλῆθος ὑπεσχισμένον τὴν θεολογίαν μὴ σκεδανύοντες.” “*Deum enim ex Deo adorantes, et proprietatem profiteremur personarum, et manemus in fide de uno Deo, non dividentes divinæ naturæ rationem in multitudinem subdivisam.*” And Athanasius on the *humiliation* of the Son. “τὸ, ἐγὼ εἰμι ἢ ἄμπελος, καὶ, ὁ πατήρ μου μείζων μου ἐστὶ, καὶ τὸ, ἔκτισέ με, καὶ, ἐγὼ εἰμι σκῶληξ καὶ οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις, καὶ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις εἶπεν ταπεινὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸ ἐφόρεσεν σωμα δι' ἡμᾶς ἐρῆται.” “*Illud; Ego sum vitis, et Pater meus major me est, item, Creavit me, et, Ego sum vermis et non homo, et quæcumque in Evan-*

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unbegotten Godhead, as in an image or a glass, characterized in the Son<sup>1</sup>.

From which I think it must be evident, that Eusebius here spoke, not as a *Metaphysician*, but as a *Theologian*. As a *Metaphysician* he tells us, that the *Son existed unbegotten eternally in the Father*, as noticed above<sup>2</sup>; and in our work (p. 67), that *He had no beginning*. Here, he tells us as a *Theologian*, and in conformity with the terms of Scripture, that his creed embraces *one God only, one Principle, one Supreme rule* (μοναρχία); and that, although he holds *the Father and the Son to be two distinct subsistences*, the former *Superior* and as *Principle*, with reference to the other; yet, that the other is nevertheless *God and King*, and is adored and worshipped as taught by the Church as *God*, and is to be honoured *even as the Father is*; because in Him alone can the Father be received, known, and honoured. We may therefore conclude here, that, so far, Eusebius does not appear to have intended to speak lightly of the Divinity of the Son, and that Montfaucon's reasoning on the subject, is partial and defective.

The next objectionable place cited by Montfaucon, is one in which he thinks he has detected a very defective

<sup>1</sup> “ὁ γὰρ ἑώρακώς τὸν υἱὸν, ἑώρακε καὶ τὸν πατέρα· τὴν ἀγεννήτον θεότητα, οἷον ἐν εἰκόνι καὶ κατόπτρῳ, ἐν τῷ υἱῷ χαρακτηριζόμενον ὄρων.” Ib. p. 111. D. See also ib. p. 194. seq. where this point is argued more in detail, and Col. ii. 9. is referred to, as determining the *Godhead of the Son*.

<sup>2</sup> Page xlix. note, and again, Lib. II. cap. xiv. p. 121. A. “ὁ δὲ Θεὸς λογος, οὐχ ἑτερου δεῖται του προυποκειμενου, ἵν ἐν αὐτῷ γενομενος ὑπόστη· καθ' ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἐστὶ ζῶν καὶ ὑφ' ἑστώς, ἅτε Θεὸς ὢν.” “*At Deus logos, non altero indiget præexistente: ut in ipso (eo?) sit et subsistat: sed per se vivens est et subsistens, veluti qui Deus sit.*” Then again, in the following context, he speaks as a *Theologian* of the Father as *Principle*. In the one case affirming of *THE WORD*, that it *subsisted of itself*, and *stood in need of no other pre-existing* (Being), being itself *God*; and, in the other, as not being without another as *Principle* (μη ἀναρχον). In the former case, speaking of *Deity* in the abstract, and also in accordance with the Scriptures, and positively ascribing this to the Son: in the latter, as to *the particulars* recorded of the *Deity* in the Scriptures only, and with respect to the *Divine Economy*. Not as Montfaucon and others have supposed, viz. that what he has said, under one point of view, is to be regulated and limited, by what he has affirmed under another.

statement respecting the *Unity*, made by our Author: it is this, (*Contra Marcellum* c. xix. 192). ‘And<sup>3</sup> indeed we all shall be in this way, one with the Father and the Son. For as, He said, that Himself and the Father were one, saying, “*I and the Father are one* ;” ‘so does He pray that we all should, in imitation of Himself, partake of His own unity; not according to Marcellus; the *Word* being united to God, and (considered as) being attached to the *Essence* (as an accident): but, as the truth testifies, the Saviour Himself saying,’ “*The glory which Thou hast given to me, I have given to them; that they may be one, according as we are one.*” ‘Where,’ he goes on to say, ‘Eusebius clearly explodes the substantial unity of the Father and the Son,’ &c. I remark, This, as before, is a mere inference, and it is as groundless as it is positive.

Let us consider the circumstances of this case. Eusebius is here arguing with Marcellus; who, as already stated, considered THE WORD as a mere *unsubstantial enunciation*; and which, before enunciation, rested as a volition only in the Divine mind: and this he has in view when he speaks of ‘*the Word being united to God, &c.*’ His assertion here is therefore, that the Saviour’s prayer (John xvii.) is not to the effect that He and the Father, the Disciples and Himself, should be considered as united in this way; but in that in which each should, *in His own proper person*, partake of the Father’s glory: or, in the words of St Peter, that the Disciples should be “*partakers of the Divine nature*” (2 Pet. i. 4.), even as Christ was, of that of the Father. So far then, we may conclude, nothing unscriptural, untrue, or dishonourable to the Son, was here intended by our Author: the question here not being, as to *Essence*, but as to *privilege*.

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<sup>3</sup> Gr. “καὶ δὴ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν οἱ πάντες γενησόμεθα. ὥσπερ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἐν εἶναι ἔλεγε, φάσκων· ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατήρ ἐν ἔσμεν οὕτω καὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς, κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ μίμησιν, τῆς ἐνότητος τῆς αὐτοῦ μετασχεῖν εὔχεται· οὐ κατὰ Μάρκελλον τοῦ λόγου ἐνωμένου τῷ θεῷ, καὶ τῇ οὐσίᾳ συναφθησομένου· καθὼς δὲ ἐμαρτύρησεν ἡ ἀλήθεια, ὃ σωτὴρ αὐτὸς εἰπὼν· τὴν δόξαν ἣν ἔδωκάς μοι, δέδωκα αὐτοῖς· ἵνα ᾧσιν ἐν, καθὼς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν ἔσμεν.”

It should be observed, that this extract is taken from our Author's explanation of 1 Cor. xv. 28; of which some account has already been given above<sup>1</sup> (p. lxx). From chapter xiv. (p. 182), to the end of the Ecclesiastical Theology against Marcellus, he argues this question, viz. as to how the passage, "*When all things shall be subject unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him that put all things under Him, that God may be all in all,*" ought to be understood: his general conclusion we have already given. The part of it, which now concerns us is, How did Eusebius understand its last portion, where it is said, "*that God may be all in all*"? The passage cited above by Montfaucon, and objected to by him, is part of his reasoning on this point; and it must be obvious from what has already been said of it, that Eusebius did not here intend in any way to discuss the question, as to the *abstract nature* of the Godhead, either of the Father or the Son, but only to speak of *the glory* received under *the Divine Economy*, from the Father as *Principle*, both by the Son, and by those also who are said to be made the sons of God, in and through Him. What our Author had said therefore on one question, Montfaucon very disingenuously cites against him on another!

If then Eusebius had left the question in this state, no Theologian, laying claim to a particle of ingenuousness, could have taken it up as matter of charge against him, on the Godhead of the Son. But happily, Eusebius has not left the question at this point; he has also stated his mind,

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<sup>1</sup> I think it right to make one extract here to shew, in what way believers were supposed by Eusebius, to partake of the excellence of the Son, (ib. p. 184. D. seq.) "*φωστηρες τε αναδειχθησονται του νεου αιωνος εξ αυτου τα φωτα χορηγουμενοι και υιοι δε Θεου εσονται, τω της υιοθεσιας πνευματι κοσμηθηντες· και των λοιπων εν αυτω δυναμεων μεθεξουσιν, οι αυτω υποταγησομενοι. ως και δικαιους γενεσθαι εκ της αυτου δικαιοσυνης· και αγιους εκ της αυτου αγιασυνης.*" κ. τ. λ. "*Luminaria designabuntur novi sæculi, quibus lux ab illo suppeditabitur. Filii Dei futuri filiationis spiritu ejus adornati et exculi. Quomodo, qui illi sunt subjiciendi omnes, facultatum ejus cæterarum participes fient. Nam et justii futuri sunt, de justitia ejus; et de sanctitate illius, sancti,*" &c. A passage, I think, evincing as highly an enlightened mind, as it does a deep and well grounded piety.

as to the different degrees, in which this is to be realized both *in the Son*, and *in His followers*, in these words,— which have been already cited, that “*That God may be all in all:*”—‘He shall be all things in all, according to the faculty of each: supplying to all the different conceptions of His Divinity; *but reserving to His only begotten Son alone, THE CHIEF AND PATERNAL GLORY, HONOUR and KINGDOM, which is incommunicable to all others.*’ The same sentiment is also given (ib. p. 186. C.). After stating, that God shall dwell and walk in those who are His, he adds ‘but, thus *He will not be in them, as He is said to be in the Son:* οὕτω μὲν οὐκ ἔσται ἐν αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ λέγεται εἶναι τῷ υἱῷ. And again, (ib. p. 192. C.) after stating that we shall not henceforth be many, but shall all be united in the Godhead and glory of His kingdom,’ he adds, ‘*Not by commixture in one (Divine) Essence; but by a perfection (even) to the summit of virtue.*’ ἵνα μηκέτι ὦμεν πολλοί, ἀλλὰ οἱ πάντες εἰς, ἐνωθέντες αὐτοῦ τῇ θειότητι, καὶ τῇ δόξῃ τῆς βασιλείας, οὐ κατὰ συναλοιφήν μιᾶς οὐσίας, κατὰ δὲ τελείωσιν τῆς εἰς ἄκραν ἀρετῆς<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. p. 193. D. “οὕτως οὖν ἐν εἰσιν ὁ πατήρ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς κατὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς δόξης,” &c. “Ita Pater et Filius unum sunt, *communio claritatis* (gloriæ?). And again, (p. 194. B.) After citing, “*I will walk in them,*” &c. Eusebius adds, “ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ ζῶμεν, καὶ κινούμεθα, καὶ ἐσμεν. καὶ ταῦτα πάντα περὶ ἡμῶν λέλεχται, τῷ κατ’ ἰδίαν ὑπόστασιν ὑφ’ ἐστῶτων, καὶ ζώντων, καὶ μηδὲν ἐχόντων κοινόν πρὸς τὴν πατρικὴν θεότητα. τί δὲ οὖν χρὴ θαυμάζειν, εἰ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ, αἱ παραπλήσια φέρονται φωναί: οὐκ ἀναιροῦσι μὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑπόστασιν· οὐδ’ αὐτὸν εἶναι πατέρα καὶ υἱόν, διδάσκουσι τὴν δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἰδιάζουσαν καὶ ἐξαίρετον τιμὴν, καὶ δόξαν, τῆς μονογενοῦς καὶ θεϊκῆς κοινωνίας παριστῶσαι.” “*Nos in ipso vivimus et movemur, et sumus.*” “*Quæ sanè omnia de nobis dicuntur, qui tamen in propria hypostasi subsistimus et vivimus; nec quicquam habemus cum paterna divinitate commune. Quocirca non est mirum, si de Filio tales voces usurpentur: quæ minime tollant tamen ipsius hypostasin: nedum confirmant ipsum esse et patrem et filium: tantummodo repræsentent illam divinam unigeniti Filii communionem, honorem, atque gloriam, quam ex illa à patre suo habet.*” The latter part of this falls very far short of the original; which virtually affirms, not only that these terms have a very different application when applied to us, from what they have when applied to the person of the Son; and, that the Father and the Son are not the same Hypostasis; but also, that

From which I think it must be as certain, as the nature of the case can require, that Eusebius did not here intend to argue on the abstract character of the Deity; and also, that he sufficiently guarded himself against the accusation, which Montfaucon thought it right to advance against him.

I do not think it necessary to follow Montfaucon any farther: every main point, connected with the question before us, has been considered at sufficient length to shew, that our objector had no good grounds for the allegations which he brought forward. It must be evident, I think, to every one desirous of adhering to the truth, that the sort of controversy here set up by Montfaucon, is not that, out of which truth can elicited. To cite a passage here and there from the works of any author, and then to argue thereon, regardless of the context in which it is found, and of the opinions elsewhere positively expressed and maintained by such author,—which is the course pursued here by Montfaucon,—must leave it at the will of him who does so, to come to any conclusion whatever, which may seem good in his sight. We pass on now therefore to other matter.

#### SECTION V.

*On the charge advanced by Photius against our Author, alleging that he erred with Origen, on the resurrection of the dead.*

THE charge brought forward by Photius is, that Eusebius was infected with the malady of Origen, as to the resurrection of the dead. The passage containing this charge is given by Montfaucon, in his “*Bibliotheca Coisliniana*,” page 348, as something *new*, and worthy of presentation to persons skilled in Ecclesiastical History; and out of which *new* matter for controversy would probably arise: although, as he goes on to say, many had suspected that

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that they ascribe to the only begotten Son, the *proper and chief honour and glory of the Father*, and a *divine communion with Him*. Is it not marvellous that all this escaped Montfaucon?

Eusebius was so tainted, from his frequent perusal of the works of Origen.—There was however, nothing new presented in this extract from Photius; for Valesius had published it long before among the testimonies against Eusebius, which he appended to his life of Eusebius<sup>1</sup>.

The charge runs thus: Many know, and it is easy to find from numerous places, that (Eusebius) did from the first secretly foster the Arian opinions, and ceased not to the last to defend them. And, that he partook of the disease with which Origen was infected, as to our common resurrection;—if it escapes the many;—he, who reads his compositions with care, will nevertheless perceive him to have been no less held by this destructive unsoundness, than he was by the Arian mania.

The error of Origen was, that *the Body* of our Lord became, after His resurrection, of *an ethereal and divine quality*<sup>3</sup>. Let us now see how far the writings of Eusebius are chargeable with this error. In our following work, he speaks of the ‘Body being impervious to death,’ after it shall have undergone dissolution by death; and again, he says

<sup>1</sup> Prefixed to his edition of the works of Eusebius.

<sup>2</sup> The words, as given by Montfaucon, are these: “ἀλλ’ ὅτι μὲν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς τὰς Αρειανικὰς δόξας ὑπέθαλπεν, καὶ μέχρι τέλους οὐ διέλιπε περιέπων, πολλοὶ τε συνεπίστανται, καὶ ῥᾶόν ἐστι λαβεῖν πολλαχόθεν· ὅτι δὲ καὶ τῆς Ωριγένους νόσου μετέσχευεν ἦν κατὰ τῆς κοινῆς ἡμῶν ἐκεῖνος ἐνόσησεν ἀναστάσεως, εἰ καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπολανθάνει· ἀλλ’ οὖν αὐτὸς σὺν ἐρεύνη τοὺς ἐκεῖνου λόγους ἀναλεγόμενος, οὐδὲν ἔλαττον αὐτὸν πῶ ὀλεθρίῳ τούτῳ ἀρρώστηματι ἢ ταῖς Αρειανικαῖς μανίαις κεκρατημένον ὄψει.” The charge here made,—and in which Montfaucon seems to exult,—as to our Author’s persevering in Arianism and even defending it to the last; Athanasius himself, who was no friend to Eusebius, has sufficiently answered; who tells us, that after he had subscribed to the Council of Nice, (p. li.) he went on to accuse the Arians. Vales. Life of Euseb. p. mihi 25. Athanasius also declares in the preceding page, that Eusebius was his enemy.

<sup>3</sup> As cited from Origen’s Tract against Celsus by Suicer. Thes. Eccles. sub voce ἀναστασις. “τὴν ποιότητα τοῦ θνητοῦ κατὰ τοῦ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ σώμα, εἰς αἰθέριον καὶ θεῖαν ποιότητα.” “Qualitatem mortalem Jesu corporis in ætheream et divinam qualitatem mutatam esse.” See the following extracts also given by Suicer: who tells us here, that the Romanists, (Pontificii) assert the same thing.

(p. 61), ‘When he shall receive his Body, and shall have changed his nature from corruption to incorruption,’ &c. evidently alluding to 1 Cor. xv. 53. (See also *ib.* sect. 76.) Again (page 185), speaking of our Lord’s appearing after His resurrection, he says, ‘He shewed to His disciples the selfsame person, *both in body and substance just as it formerly was.*’ Again (p. 186), ‘Had He led on that mortal (being, or body)...to corruption and perishing, He would have seemed as a spectre.’ Evidently intimating that His body was substantial. Again, p. 187, ‘He shewed proof that this same (Body) was superior to death; and (so), by the divine power, made immortal that which was mortal.’ In page 195, he makes the resurrection of our Lord, ‘the beginning of that immortal life (for us all) which is with God.’ *Ib.* p. 196, ‘It was necessary the Disciples should see, with their own eyes, the life which is after death;’ which must imply their viewing their own resurrection in His. It is added, ‘He shewed them in the deed itself, the signal mark of the victory obtained over death.’ To the same effect are pages 188-9. And again, p. 200, ‘Then also did the all-life-giving WORD of GOD evince the hope that is laid up for all men, by means of the *second birth of this selfsame mortal (body).*’ *Ib.* sect. 62. he speaks of *this second birth*, which had also (now) become that of the Disciples, and which they preached to all. See also *ib.* sect. 63. seq. and p. 207. Whence it will be seen, that a very large portion of this book (iii), proceeds on the assumption,—as on a thing about which there can be no doubt—that the body shall be, after the resurrection, just as that of our Lord’s was,—identically the same with that, which had previously lived and died.

We are told in the Controversy with Marcellus, (p. 184. seq.) that, when the last enemy death shall have been subdued, then shall our bodies be made like unto His glorious Body: ours swallowed up of life, His of the Divinity, as already noticed. This subject however is more particularly discussed, in an earlier part of this Work, (*Ib.* x. p. 177. seq.), from which it will be sufficient for our purpose to make a few extracts.

After speaking of the absurd Sabellian notions of Marcellus, as to the flesh of the Saviour being laid aside at His

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swallowed up of immortality, just as that of the Saviour's should, of the Divinity. This will also supply a good comment on certain passages in our following work, e. g. p. 54. "Shall clothe him, both in body and soul, which are now incorruptible, with a vesture of light exceeding description." See also pages, 57. 61, &c.

Reasoning to the same effect will be found in his commentary on Isaiah, where we are told on chapter lx. ver. 19, that 'there<sup>1</sup> shall be a certain pillar emitting Divine light, the Body of the resurrection, called' "*the garment of salvation.*" 'For there shall be no longer the Body of death, such as Paul shewed forth' (Rom. vii. 24)... 'For,' he goes on to say, 'The garment of salvation shall be put about the soul, and the coat of gladness,' &c. In the first case *the same glorified Body of our Lord* is evidently meant; as the words are a comment on, "*The Lord shall be thy everlasting light, and God thy glory:*" and, in the second, the glorified bodies of His followers, *as clothed upon* by virtue of His resurrection. So again, on chap. lxv. 20. p. 587. C. D. 588 A: chap. lxvi. 20, 21. p. 592, 593. to some of which, parallels may be adduced from our following work.

I shall notice only one place more, and then come to a conclusion on this whole subject. This place I think an important one, as it will shew how far our Author had the advantage over his opponent, as an interpreter of Holy Writ; and, at the same time, as to the spirituality of his views. Marcellus tells us then, (ib. p. 179 A.), that the flesh could not, as it respected the Resurrection of our Lord, profit in any way, as the Saviour Himself had said (John xi. 62, 63.), "*What and if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where He was before? It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing:*" To this Eusebius replies: 'But<sup>2</sup> you must, upon again taking up the evan-

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<sup>1</sup> His words are: "στήλη δέ τις ἔσται φῶς ἀπαστράπτουσα θεῖον, τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἀναστάσεως, τὸ λεγόμενον ἱμάτιον σωτηρίου. οὐκέτι γὰρ θανάτου σῶμα, οἷον ὁ Παῦλος ἐδήλου λέγων (Rom. vii. 24.)... σωτήριον δὲ ἱμάτιον τῇ ψυχῇ περιθήσεται, καὶ χιτῶνα εὐφροσύνης."

<sup>2</sup> "Ἀλλὰ σύ γε ἀναλαβὼν τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν γραφὴν, θέα τὴν πᾶσαν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν διδασκαλίαν, ὅπως οὐ περὶ ἧς ἀνείληφε σαρκὸς διελέγετο· περὶ δὲ τοῦ μυστικοῦ σώματός τε καὶ αἵματος." (John vi. 30.)

gical Scripture, observe that the whole of our Saviour's doctrine (here), does not speak of *the Flesh which He had assumed*, but of His *mystical Body, and Blood.*' He then cites a considerable part of the context, and adds: 'By which He taught them, *spiritually to hear the things said respecting His Body and Blood.*' 'Think not that I say, It is right to eat *the flesh which I carry about me*; nor understand me to enjoin, *the drinking of the sensible and bodily blood*; but know well, that the words which I have spoken to you, are spirit and life. So that His declarations and words were (hereon) the *Flesh and Blood*, of which he who ever partakes, shall, as nourished with heavenly bread, also partake of the heavenly life.' He repeats it, that these things are to be spiritually received, not as this new Interpreter had taken them, as referring to the *Flesh of our Lord*; which, as being profitless according to his views, could be of no avail in the life to come. From which I think, both the heterodoxy<sup>3</sup>, and ignorance of Scripture, betrayed by Marcellus, must be too obvious to require one word of comment; as must the sound and scriptural views of our Author. And, we may conclude here upon this question, that it is equally evident, the charge which Photius brought against him, is no less discreditable to himself, than it is groundless and scandalous.

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seq. Exod. xvi. 14)...“δι' ὧν ἐπαίδευσεν αὐτοὺς πνευματικῶς ἀκούειν τῶν περὶ τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ λελεγμένων· μὴ γὰρ τὴν σάρκα, ἣν περικείμεαι, νομίσητέ με λέγειν, ὡς δέον αὐτὴν ἐσθίειν, μηδὲ τὸ αἰσθητὸν καὶ σωματικὸν αἶμα πίνειν ὑπολαμβάνετε με προστάπτειν· ἀλλ' εὖ ἴστε, ὅτι τὰ ῥήματά μου ἃ λελάληκα ὑμῖν, πνευμά ἐστι καὶ ζωὴ ἐστι· ὥστε αὐτὰ εἶναι τὰ ῥήματα καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ, τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὸ σῶμα, ὧν ὁ μετέχων ἀεὶ, ὡσανεὶ ἄρτῳ οὐρανίῳ τρεφόμενος, τῆς οὐρανίου μεθέξει ζωῆς.” The Commentary of Euthymius on this place, is to the same effect: taking the general sense to be the Doctrine of Christ; but the particular one, as having respect to the sacrament of His Body and Blood. How much better is this than the modern figment of Romanists, whose whole attention is directed to the bodily and sensible elements?

<sup>3</sup> Yet Jortin, after Le Clerc and Pere Simon, thinks that he held much the same opinions that Christians now do: but this, his very zealous and learned advocate Montfaucon, could neither prove, nor persuade himself to affirm.

## GENERAL CONCLUSION.

WHETHER we view the opinions of our Author as apparent from his Platonic inclinations, and his notions of Deity accordingly; his assenting to the statements of that philosopher; of his commentators Plotinus and others; of Philo and Aristobulus, as Platonizing Jews; of certain portions of the Apocryphal Scriptures, as to the particulars here had in view; his viewing the Holy Trinity, in conformity with these authorities, as consisting of a *First, Second, and Third Cause, each equally Divine*; his viewing *the Holy Trinity* as a Theologian, and affirming of it, that it constitutes the *one Monarchy, Principle, and RULE*; declaring also as a Theologian, that it comprehends, according to the *Divine Economy*, the *Rule of the Father*, and the ministration of *the Son* in the person of *Jehovah* under the Old Testament, in that of the man Christ Jesus under the New, and of *the Holy Ghost*:—whether we view his conduct at the Council of Nice, or consider the real import and bearing of his letter to the Church of Cæsarea; his mode of commenting on the Scriptures generally, and particularly with reference to the *Divinity of the Son, the Divinity and personality of the Holy Ghost*, as found in his Commentaries and other writings generally, and particularly in his Controversy with Marcellus; or whether we examine his opinions, as sifted and condemned by Montfaucon and others, with reference to the proper Divinity of the Son; or, whether we take a similar survey of his reasoning on the Resurrection and glorification of the *real Body of our Lord*, and, by virtue of this, the glorified state of those of his true followers:—taking these things, I say, as they appear in his own writings, and attested positively by himself;—we are, I think, bound to conclude, that he was no Arian: and the same reasoning must prove that he was no semi-Arian:—that he did in no degree partake of the error of Origen, ascribed to him so positively and so groundlessly by Photius.

To this may be added the testimony of Valesius<sup>1</sup> a writer of no mean acquirements and judgment, strength-

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<sup>1</sup> “De Vita et Scriptis Eusebii Cæsariensis,” pp. mihi, 14, 15.

ened as it is by that of the Western Church generally, and particularly that of Gaul, which canonized Eusebius,—with the single exception of Jerome,—and confirmed by that of Popes Gelasius and Pelagius. To these, he adds that of Gelasius Bishop of Cæsarea, and of Theophilus of Alexandria; of Socrates—with whom he should have joined Theodoret,—and of Gelasius Bishop of Cyzicum. And last of all, though by no means least, our own Cave gives the same testimony; whose very valuable Life of our Author can never be read without great interest and advantage.

# PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION.

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## PART II.

### INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ON THE VIEWS OF EUSEBIUS ON PROPHECY.

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IT will appear upon a very slight perusal of the two last Books of our following work, that the views of its Author on Prophecy are, in some important particulars, directly opposed to those generally held in the present day. And, as the views now held are usually put forth with great zeal and earnestness, as containing matter of the greatest importance to the Christian Church; many will necessarily be tempted to conclude at once, that Eusebius is in this particular entirely wrong; and that so far, his work is worse than useless. I trust all such will allow me to intreat them calmly to consider, whether it is likely Eusebius would, with the whole Christian Church of his times, and of those preceding him, err on a question so momentous as this; and on which the interests of Christianity so much then depended: whether it is probable, the views promulgated by the Apostles themselves on this question could, without any assignable cause, have undergone a revolution so great, as this takes for granted was the fact; and further, whether the writers of his, and of former times,—men confessedly of the greatest learning and piety, and who certainly had spared no pains to inform themselves as to the declarations of Holy Scripture,—could possibly have embraced, and maintained with one voice, views so directly opposed to the truth, as this state of the case necessarily supposes.

If it be supposed that progress of time necessarily brings with it progress in knowledge; it may be suggested, that, in the sciences and arts connected with civilized life, this may be fully admitted; while it may be extremely doubtful whether it can be, as to revealed truth; and

especially, as inspired Interpreters of this lived so near to the times of which we are now speaking. Add to this the fact, that, among modern Interpreters, there is nothing like the agreement which prevailed among the more ancient ones; that, in very many instances, the statements, grounded on their views of prophecy, have proved utterly false: in others, the results arrived at have given rise to theories and practices the most ludicrous; and that in all, no principle of interpretation more solid than that which rests on *resemblances*, has either been proposed or contended for: and accordingly, what was once "*the more sure word of prophecy*," has been made *the most unsure*: and I think it will appear, that there is quite as much reason for supposing the present speculations on this subject to be erroneous, as there is that those of our Author's times are unworthy of regard. I will say for myself, I have,—I trust with the sincerest regard to truth, unembarrassed with any desire for novelty, or to oppose the favourite views of any man,—long suspected the soundness of the principles on which these modern views have been founded, and for some years past have felt convinced, that the more ancient ones are much nearer the truth: their results much more accordant with the general tenor of Scripture, and tending to throw a much greater light on the declarations of both Testaments. I now proceed therefore, to lay before the reader a mere outline,—and nothing further can be expected here,—which will, I trust, be found to rest on principles of interpretation more solid than those just now adverted to, and calculated to bring the Old and New Testament into a much more intimate connection, than they can otherwise be made to stand: and hence to justify the views advanced by our Author in the work before us.

#### SECTION I.

*On the period termed by Eusebius "the Time of the End."*

WE have in Sects. 28, 36. of our Fourth Book, express mention of the "*time of the end*," intimately connected with our Author's proofs of the fulfilment of prophecy in the erection of the Christian Church. In neither of these places indeed, is he particularly clear, as to the precise

period meant; but, as his arguments rest on the fact, (real or supposed) that the Gospel had then been “*preached in all nations,*” the natural inference is, that he supposed the “*time of the End*” had then come. I have shewn this, and added a few remarks on the subject generally, in a note on the latter place (p. 282). Let us now inquire how this matter stands in Holy Scripture.

The question now before us is, Whether a *period* or *End* is actually fixed in Holy Scripture, with reference to the things of Christ and His Church, unconnected with every consideration about the dissolution of all things, commonly termed *the End of the world*. We will commence this inquiry with those declarations, which appear to be the most obvious and definite, and then pass on to those which seem less so, by means of their connection with these, and with one another.

Our Lord says then, generally as I conceive, “*The things concerning me have AN END*” (Luke xxii. 37). In this case, He was to be numbered with the transgressors. This was soon to be done and finished. Upon the Disciples asking Him, in another place (Matt. xxiv. 3. seq.) “*When shall these things be? and what the sign of thy coming, and of the End of the world<sup>1</sup>?*” The answer is, “*Ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars,*”...“*all these things must come to pass, but THE END IS NOT YET.*” And again, (ver. 14) as cited by our Author, “*This Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations; and then shall THE END COME.*” We are also told (ib. ver. 8), that the troubles then spoken of are

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<sup>1</sup> Gr. “*τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος.*” Not necessarily signifying the end of the material world; and, if Christ’s coming (*τῆς σῆς παρουσίας*) is to be connected with this, as the context here implies, it is obvious that the then existing generation should not pass, until this had commenced at least (ver. 34, &c.); and, as Theodotion uses this term (Dan. xii. 13. where we have *εἰς ἀναπλήρωσιν συντελειᾶς*) to imply the period elsewhere spoken of as *the End* of the system to be done away, and to be *succeeded by another*; it is certain, the end of the material world cannot here be meant. This place has, “*till all these things be fulfilled;*” which is erroneous. The verb in the original is “*γίνηται,*” *be, become, or the like.*

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are with the pestilences, earthquakes, persecutions of the Disciples, the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the Prophet, coupled with the declaration, that the generation *then existing* should not pass away until they *should be* (in progress<sup>1</sup>; Mark, xiii. 30), with the fall of the Temple (Luke xxi. 5, 6), the investiture of Jerusalem by *the Roman army* (ib. ver. 21), the captivity of the Jews (ib. ver. 24. comp. vv. 28, 29—31), and all those other remarkable events which so soon, and so exactly corresponding with these predictions, actually took place for the first, and necessarily for the last, time. The period of *these Beginnings* is therefore, too particularly defined to admit of doubt as to when it was.

To determine the period of the END, will require a more extended investigation; which, as it will involve more particulars of *equally certain occurrence*, will therefore lead us to a conclusion equally sure and certain. It will be seen, from what has already been cited,—and as noticed by Eusebius,—that, *when* (i.e. not before) *the Gospel of the kingdom should have been PREACHED IN ALL THE WORLD; for a WITNESS UNTO ALL NATIONS, THE END should come.* (Matt. xxiv. 14, &c). We may remark here; first, that the Gospel was *to be so preached*; and, secondly, that this was to be done for the purpose of affording *a Testimony* to all nations. Let us now see, what means we have in our hands for determining *its period*, and *extreme limit*.

It has been remarked above that our Lord has, in uttering his prediction (Matth. xxiv. 15. Mark xiii. 14. Luke xxi. 20), referred to the Prophet Daniel as having made predictions to the same effect; and, from the manner in which this reference is made, (“*whoso readeth, let him understand,*”) particular stress seems to be laid upon the declarations of this Prophet. The passages more immediately

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<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxiv. 34. Mark xiii. 30. Luke xxi. 32. See the note above on the term *γένηται*. A passage to the same effect occurs (Matt. xvi. 28.) “*There be some standing here, which shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of Man coming in His kingdom;*” and again (John xxi. 21), “*If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?*” all intended, no doubt, to fix and determine the period here had in view. Let this be remembered.

had in view are, perhaps, chapp. ix. 23, 27; xii. 11. But, as these are only parts of a more extended system of predictions on this subject, it will be best, first to consider the whole of this generally; and secondly, more in detail.

The first place in which this question is touched upon is, Daniel ii. 28—36; where the dream of the King is said to comprehend “*what should be in the latter days*”;<sup>2</sup> by which last expression we are to understand, as we shall presently see, the period of *the end* generally; the beginning of a certain part of which has already been brought before us. Now, the interpretation given of this dream by Daniel goes on to shew, that *Three* kingdoms or dynasties shall succeed that of Nebuchadnezzar, each of which shall successively fall and give place to another; and that a *Fifth* shall be raised, which shall have *no end*. That these kingdoms, designated the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman, I need not now perhaps stop to inquire, both, because this is generally allowed, and because we

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<sup>2</sup> This usage is much older than the times of Daniel: it occurs for the first time in Gen. xlix. 1. “*That I may tell you what shall befall you in THE LAST DAYS.*” Where (ver. 10) we have the remarkable prophecy of the coming of our Lord, and of the gathering of the people to Him, &c. The next place is Numb. xxiv. 14: “*I will advertise thee what this people shall do to thy people IN THE LATTER DAYS.*” Where, (ver. 17) we have the prediction of a *Star that should come out of Jacob*...(19) “*Out of Jacob shall come He that shall have the dominion,*” &c., perfectly equivalent to the place in Genesis. The next place is Job xix. 25, where *the Redeemer who should stand at THE LATTER DAY upon the earth*, is the subject-matter of the discourse. In these cases, as in those occurring in the Prophets, respect is had to the period generally, in which the peculiar privileges of the Jews should cease, and all nations should partake in the blessings to be derived from the promised seed of Abraham. (Gen. xviii. 15; xxii. 18, &c.) “*IN HIS DAYS shall the righteous flourish,*” &c. (Ps. lxxii. 7) is another intimation of the same period, as is “*Thy times.*” Is. xxxiii. 6: “*The last days,*” (ib. ii. 2.) Micah iv. 1, &c., all of which mark, more or less distinctly, the times of our Lord’s ministry, and those immediately succeeding; but less definitely than in Daniel, particularly chap. ix. 27. It is not meant however, to assert that the phrase “*last day,*” or the like, must necessarily refer to this period. In John vi. 44, 54, for example, it relates to a totally different one. All that is intended to be affirmed is, that, by phrases similar to this, the time of *the end*, in the sense above given, is often pointed out, which the context will always be sufficient to determine.

shall presently come to matter, sufficient to determine this point beyond all possible doubt. I need only remark here, that, as these *Four* kingdoms were to fall in succession, and a *Fifth* was then to be raised which should *never fall*, *the latter days* noticed above, as intimating generally the time of *the End* mentioned by our Lord, must necessarily mean the period, in which the last of these *Four* should *come to an end*; the last, or *Fifth*, *never coming to an end* in the language of prophecy, can, in that language, have *no latter days*<sup>1</sup>. This period must therefore, be limited to the time of that particular event, and cannot be extended to any other, falling either short of it, or beyond it.

In the viith chapter of Daniel this subject is resumed, and—as it might be expected,—is treated in a manner much more specific than in the last case. I shall now give only the general outline as before, reserving what is more particular for future consideration. Here then, the Four Monarchies, pointed out in the last vision, are designated by *Four Beasts*. The last of these is slain, *his body is destroyed and given to the burning flame* (v. 11); and then, as before, a *Fifth Dominion* is set up, which is given to one like *the Son of Man coming in the clouds*; and this is, as before, to be both an everlasting and an universal Dominion (ver. 14). An interpretation is then given, determining these *Four Beasts* to be four Kings<sup>2</sup>; and also, that the Saints of the Most High shall next take the kingdom, and possess it for ever (vv. 16, 18). We are then instructed, that some constituent part of this *last* system of Rule, shall make war against the Saints and shall prevail, until the Ancient of days shall give judgment in their favour; and that these shall then possess the kingdom. And, a little lower down (v. 26), the judgment is again said to sit, and to take away this last portion of the Fourth kingdom, and to de-

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<sup>1</sup> So in the case of Melchisedec (Heb. vii. 3. seq.), “without father, without mother,” &c., can only mean that no father, mother, &c., are found recorded of him in the Scriptures.

<sup>2</sup> As *King* in the Heb. and Chald. properly signifies *Rule*. See my Hebrew Lexicon under מלך, we need not be surprised in finding it here used in this sense.

stroy it unto the (extreme period of) *the End*. It is also repeated, that the Saints shall now possess the kingdom, and that this kingdom shall be both universal and everlasting. And the next verse (28) tells us, that “*hitherto is THE END OF THE MATTER,*” which I understand to mean, the *close and final period of every thing referred to in this vision*.

In the viiith chapter of this same Prophet, we have another vision to the same effect; and, in some respects, more specific than either of the preceding ones. We shall, as before, now take the general statements of this only. In the first place then, a Ram is seen standing by the river Ulai, which becomes fearfully great. A He goat is then said to fly, as it were, over the earth and to come in contact with him, and to overcome him. This He goat is then said to become irresistible; but, that in the zenith of his power he shall fall, and his Rule be divided among Four others. To these shall succeed another Power, which shall take away the daily sacrifice, and *cast down the place of the sanctuary*. From this last declaration, it must be evident that the *Roman Power* is had in view; no other having ever done this. In this latter vision therefore, the Babylonian empire is not included; which is also evident from the interpretation given below (ver. 20, seq.), where we learn, that the Ram designated the Medo-Persian empire, the He goat, the King of Grecia (Alexander the Great); the four succeeding kingdoms, those of his Generals; and the third and last, as before, *the Roman*. So far, this vision points out events essentially the same with those of the two preceding ones; and, what is very important to our main inquiry here, it also tells us (ver. 19), that the Angel shewed to the Prophet what should be in the *latter time* of their kingdom (ver. 23), and also (ver. 19), in the LAST END of the indignation: “for,” he adds, “*at the time appointed the END SHALL BE.*” Which seems to imply, that, when a certain predetermined indignation should have been poured out, and have come to *its close*, then, i. e. at that specific time, the period named THE END should come, and at no other: and this, I take to be equivalent in bearing to the expressions...“*unto the end,*” and “*hitherto is the end of the matter,*” noticed above. We learn here also (ver. 23), that

this vision is styled the “*Vision of the evening and the morning:*” i. e. as comprehending what may be termed a *day*, divided into these its two natural portions.

We shall, for the present, pass over the ninth chapter of this prophecy, because its declarations unfold the events of the visions hitherto considered, in a point of view differing in some respects from that had recourse to in them. In the tenth chapter, then, (ver. 14) the angelic message sent is, to make Daniel understand what shall befall his people in “*the latter days;*” by which we are probably to understand, the “*Time of the end*” generally, as noticed above.

In the eleventh chapter, we have a repetition of the last vision, with which a very large number of particulars is connected. These we shall pass over for the present, and notice the more general enouncements only. We are told here then, that Three kings should arise in Persia; to whom a Fourth should succeed, who should stir up all against the realm of Grecia. We then have a repetition of the rise of a mighty king, Alexander the Great apparently, whose kingdom should be broken, and divided towards the four winds: pointing out as before, the kingdoms of his Generals; noticed also, but more particularly, by our Author (p. 136, below). The events following, i. e. from verse 5 to verse 30, have been shewn, I think satisfactorily, to refer to what took place under Antiochus Epiphanes<sup>1</sup>, one of the branches which arose out of the Rule of Alexander. In verse 30, *the Roman Power*<sup>2</sup> is, I think, again brought before us; which, as the history of those times shews, forced Antiochus to return to his own country, and

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<sup>1</sup> Sir Isaac Newton on the Prophecies of Daniel, &c. Part i. chap. xii. seq. who, however, makes no scruple to break down the limits so set to the predictions of Daniel, and recognised by our Lord; and then to expatiate, with Mede and his followers, over all the times and places which seem to suit his purpose.

- “For the ships of Chittim,” &c., which is manifestly an echo of Numb. xxiv. 24, where this coming, and also the fall of the *Roman Power*, is clearly foretold. See Bocharti Phaleg. Lib. iii. cap. v.

<sup>2</sup> Jerome says on this place: “Hæc plenius in Machabæorum gestis legimus: quod postquam eum de Ægypto pepulerunt Romani, indignans venerit contra testimonium sanctuarii,” &c.

who then committed great outrages upon the Jews. In verse 31 we have, *the pollution of the Sanctuary* by this Power, *the taking away of the daily sacrifice*, and the setting up of “*the abomination that maketh desolate*,” which has been so pointedly marked out by our Lord; and sufficiently so to shew, that this place of Daniel refers to those particular times, and to no other. Verse 33 points out to us, as it should seem, the labours of the Apostles, with the persecutions which our Lord declared should come upon them, and upon their followers: and this is carried on through verses 34 and 35, where we are further told, that it shall continue “*even to the time of the End*.” And, in the next verse, it is said that “*the king shall do according to his will, &c....; and shall prosper TILL THE INDIGNATION SHALL BE ACCOMPLISHED: for*” it is added, “*that that is determined shall be done*.” From which it should seem, some King or Power existing WITHIN THE TIMES of *the fourth, or Roman Dynasty*, was to arise and thus to act, *even to the time of THE END*, and until the indignation determined upon should be *completed and finished*. We have here therefore, “*the abomination of desolation*” set up, designated by our Lord as *the beginning of sorrows*, and the tribulations which were thence to take effect, “*even to the time of the End*.”

The twelfth chapter commences with the times of unheard of troubles, the period of which our Lord has also fixed. In this, the Disciples are warned to escape to the mountains; which they did, and were preserved, untouched and uninjured. The vision is then to be shut up, and the Book to be *sealed*<sup>4</sup>, *even to the (general) time of the End*, when many should run to and fro, and knowledge should be increased. The question is then put (ver. 6), “*How long shall it be to THE END of these wonders?*” The answer given is, “*It shall be for a time, times, and an half*”<sup>5</sup>. That is, as it should seem, from the time in which the abomination of desolation should be set up, to *the end* of

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<sup>4</sup> And, at *the time of the End*, this book is unsealed by the Lion of the tribe of Judah, Rev. v. 1. seq.

<sup>5</sup> A similar question is put, and answered much to the same effect, Isaiah vi. 11.

these troubles, a period shall elapse which may be designated by a mystical number (yet to be explained) amounting to *three and a half*. It is added, “*When he shall have accomplished to scatter* (disperse abroad) *the power of the Holy People, ALL THESE THINGS SHALL BE FINISHED.*” That is, as I understand it, *when the Saints shall have taken the kingdom*, shall have been put in possession of “*the kingdom under the whole heavens;*” in other words, when the new or *Fifth* kingdom, shall have been established by God himself; when Kings and Queens shall, in the words of Isaiah, have become the nursing Fathers and nursing Mothers of the Church; then shall all these things have come to their *destined and full completion and END.*

And, I may conclude here generally, that, from a close and accurate comparison of these several Visions, it must appear clear to demonstration, that, upon the fall of *these four kingdoms*, a *Fifth* should arise which should never end; that the period marked, as that in which the *fourth* of these should fall, was termed *the End, the latter days*, and the like generally: that, at a certain point of this, the *abomination of desolation* should be set up; and that, after this, *even to THE END*; in other words, to the fulfilment of every thing here had in view, troubles such as never had been, and never should hereafter be, heard of, tribulation, indignation, and wrath, should take place: and that, when the (now) *Mighty and Holy People*, the Christian Church, should have spread and established its power, under the guidance of the Almighty miraculously granted, all these things should be *fully and finally accomplished*. These Visions are so *intimately, and indissolubly, linked together*, and are hence so obvious and plain, as to what they unfold, and have been so bound up by our Lord Himself, with the extraordinary events which were soon to follow upon His death, that no power either human or angelic, can possibly separate them, or make them apply to any other times or circumstances.

We may now turn back to the ninth chapter of this prophecy, and see how far that contributes towards laying open the same things. We are told then, in the 24th verse of this chapter generally, that “*Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish*

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First, from the time of the Edict to build and to restore Jerusalem, unto the Messiah, 69 of these weeks are to elapse; and again, after the lapse of 62 weeks, that is, after that of these, with 7 others added to them, making as before 69 weeks, the Messiah is to *be cut off*. The people of the *then ruling Power*, the Prince, or the *Fourth Dynasty* according to the former Visions, i.e. *the Romans*, are next to come and to destroy both the city and the sanctuary; *the End* of which things is to be, as an overwhelming flood, not unlike that of Noah, (Matth. xxiv. 37. 1 Pet. iii. 20) and *even to the End* of this warfare, desolations; i.e. the indignation, unheard of troubles, and the like, already mentioned are, we are told, determined. This is generally stated. In the next verse, the particulars, with their immediate and determined periods, are given.

We are here informed then, that “*He shall confirm the covenant with (the) many (for, or during) one week: and, in the midst<sup>1</sup> of the week, He shall cause sacrifice and*

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&c., being occasionally so used) to be determined by the events here foretold, and which the language of inspiration should also certify. The usual mode of reckoning this period, taking these weeks to be weeks of years, and the whole amounting to 490 years,—which is very ancient,—must, after a moment’s consideration, appear utterly inapplicable to this place. For first, from the issuing of the edict by Cyrus, to return and to rebuild Jerusalem, could not be much less than 220 years, before any of these events took place. But, suppose it could be made to quadrate, either with the birth, or the death of Christ; How is it to be made to take in the fall of the Temple, and the other circumstances still to take place, before the end should come? Besides, the cutting off of the Messiah is to happen in the 69th week; after which, another week is to come, and to complete the seventy; and, it is in this last week that the covenant is to be made with the many; in other words, the Apostles and their immediate followers are to receive the kingdom (Luke xii. 32), and the desolations determined are to be poured out. What ingenuity, I ask, can make such 490 years cover this whole period? The view, which makes 69 weeks take in the whole 490 years, which it also ascribes to the whole 70, must be too inconsistent to bear a moment’s consideration; as must its attendant one, which carries this last week onwards to other far remote and distant times and events. If this be not “*κουλευειν τῆ ὑποθέσει,*” I know not what is.

<sup>1</sup> The term “*בְּתוֹכָהּ*” used here, does not necessarily signify *half*, or *middle*; but *any portion*: and it is here applied indefinitely.

*oblation*<sup>2</sup> to cease, and, for the overspreading of abominations, *He shall make it desolate, even UNTIL THE CONSUMMATION,*" OR END, "*and (until) that which is determined shall be poured out upon the Desolator*<sup>3</sup>."

We have already seen the events, of the first 69 of the weeks mentioned, determined; and, what is most important to our question, it is *determined that in the 69th of these the Messiah shall be cut off*: which,—as we know when that event took place,—we cannot but perceive was the period of that week's expiration. We now come to the events of the *one* (remaining) *week*, which makes up the seventy, or the whole period here had in view; and we are told, that during this *He shall confirm* (lit. magnify) *the covenant with the many*: that is, during *this latter period or week*; these *latter days, or time of the end*, generally, *the Gospel of the new Kingdom* shall be preached, and received by the many, in other words, throughout the world: that, at some time, within this week, *He shall forcibly bring sacrifice and oblation to an end, by destroying the Temple*, which, with the city, shall lie desolate; and this shall continue, even to the *end* which terminates *all vision and prophecy*<sup>4</sup>: and

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<sup>2</sup> That is *sacrifice* and *oblation* generally; the Hebrew having no definite article here; and this event must have taken place when the Temple fell, which put a forcible termination to these things.

<sup>3</sup> The Hebrew term used here, שׂוֹמֵם, should, from its form, have an active signification; and, in chap. viii. 13, this would suit the context well; and the place would mean, *the transgression giving (supplying) a desolator*. In this case the feminine form would signify *woman, or thing*, either, *evincing or making desolation*. In this acceptation the *End* or *consummation* here, is that which is determined shall fall on that (Power) which *maketh desolate*; which is in strict accordance with the concluding portions of all these visions.

<sup>4</sup> And hence we are told, (Luke xxi. 34.) that Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times *of the Gentiles be fulfilled*: i. e. until the period has arrived, in which it is determined that *heathenism shall fall in this last dynasty*. Comp. Rom. xi. 25. In Rev. xi. 3, we are told that this shall continue *for 42 months*, i. e. 3½ years, the half of 7, or period of this last prophetic week. This is necessarily the last half, which (ib. vrr. 9, 11) is said to be 3½ days. Again, (chap. xiii. 5) the power of this beast is to continue 42 months, and then he is to fall; i. e. his time is now fulfilled. Vision and prophecy therefore, leave Jerusalem in this state, promising no restoration whatever.

also, until the ruin determined shall fall upon the Power which has here acted the part of *Desolator*, who, living in the latter times of the *fourth kingdom*, should make war on the Saints and prosper wondrously, until he should be cut off by the judgment of the Almighty, and his body be given to *the devouring flame*.

The predictions therefore, contained in this ninth chapter, although differing in certain particulars from the preceding ones, do foretell the same events: the chief difference is, that they arrange these under a more specific determination of time: reserving to its *last period* all the particulars relating to the establishment of the Christian Church; and this last period, it considers under the figure of *a week*. It then proceeds to divide this into two periods; the one preceding the fall of the Temple and City; the other, that which extends from that event, to the extreme period termed *the End*: when, as shewn above, *all these things shall be finished*.

If then, we consider this whole *Week* as thus divided; the first portion will be that, in which the preaching of the Apostles took place; and will designate *the commencement* of the whole period styled, "*the latter days*," "*last times*," "*days*," &c.; the last, that during which the fall of Jerusalem, and the persecutions of the Church were effected. These persecutions too, were to be set on foot by the *Fourth* or *Roman Dynasty*, as foretold in all the preceding visions; and these our Lord himself also pointed out, for the accomplishment at once of all the troubles which He foretold, especially noticing by the way, the predictions of Daniel, and generally, those of all the Prophets as foretold respecting Himself.

If then, we may consider this period as constituting *a week*; we may each of these its portions as its *one half*: and we may then speak of either of them under the terms, "*time, times, and a half*:" "*time, times, and the dividing of time*:" or "*three days and a half*<sup>1</sup>;" or, if we view the whole, as "*a week of years*;" (i. e. seven years;) then, three years and a half, or, in other words, "*Forty two months*,"

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<sup>1</sup> Dan. vii. 25; xii. 7. Rev. xi. 9, 3½ days. it. ver. 11; see ver. 13.

or "*Twelve hundred and sixty days*," or any other number of days amounting nearly to the same sum. But, if we consider the whole as constituting a *Day*<sup>2</sup>, then these portions may be designated by the terms "*the Evening and the Morning*"<sup>3</sup>: if by a year, then "*Summer and Winter*" will mark its portions: or, if we take a *thousand years* to designate any one of these portions; then, that which falls within the Apostolic times will be the first of these; the other, that in which both the Temple and City shall be destroyed, and extending itself through the whole of the times of the persecutions; and the same may be said, if the period of *an hour*<sup>4</sup> be taken to represent either of these: which, in the aggregate, will point out the whole period of

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<sup>2</sup> In Ezekiel xxxix. 8, 9, a period of "*seven years*" is made to designate the day of God; and ib. ver. 12, it is styled "*seven months*." Comp. ver. 13. Rev. xi. 2; xiii. 5, "*forty-two months*." Rev. xii. 6, 1260 days. Dan. xii. 11, 1290 days. St. Peter (2 Ep. iii.) referring to this period says, "*one day is with the Lord as a thousand years*." Comp. ver. 10 with the parallels; also Rev. xx. 2, when *Satan is bound*; also ib. ver. 7, he is let loose; ib. ver. 10, he is cast into hell for ever.

<sup>3</sup> In Daniel viii. 26, the vision is termed that of *the Evening and the Morning*, which is a repetition of the two preceding ones, and therefore has respect to the same events. This *day* of the Lord is mentioned in Zech. xiv. 7, when at *Evening* time it shall *be light*; i. e. the evening commences the day in the East; this period therefore, may denote that of the Apostolic preaching; and, accordingly, the next verse tells us, *that living waters shall in that day go out from Jerusalem*. Comp. Ezek. xlvii. This period is here also termed "*Summer and Winter*" (Zech. xiv. 8.), evidently identical with the preceding. That by *the day of the Lord* is often meant this period, in many places of Scripture, it is too obvious to admit of a doubt; it is sometimes styled *that day, great and dreadful day*, and the like. Comp. Isaiah ii. 12; which ib. ver. 2, is "*the last days*;" ver. 17, "*that day*," it. ver. 20. In which context the fall of heathenism, and the kingdom of Christ are plainly foretold. See also Joel ii. 28—31, 32, with the parallel places: also 2 Pet. iii. 7—11. In the Rev. ix. 15, *an hour, a day, a month, and a year*, seem all, and each, to be used in the same way. Rev. xviii. 8. "*In one day*."

<sup>4</sup> Rev. xiv. 7, "*The hour of his judgment*;" ib. xviii. 10, "*In one hour*;" ib. vv. 17, 19; ib. xvii. 12, "*Receive power as kings one hour with the beast*." It must be evident, I say, to any one reading these passages with attention, that the same remarkable time, or period, must be meant. It should be remembered, it is not our business to determine what usages the sacred writers should have adopted: all we have to do is, to endeavour to ascertain what they meant by those which they did.

this *last of the seventy weeks* given above. It is not pretended, that these portions are to be considered mathematically or chronologically equal to one another: all that is meant is, that they should be considered generally as periods of time, to be determined as before by the events mentioned, and enounced evidently for that purpose.

Having seen then, how "*the more sure word of Prophecy,*" has fixed and determined—"as a light to our feet, and a lantern to our path,"—the period of the cutting off of the Messiah, as also that in which the times termed "*the latter days,*" "*the End,*" &c., should happen, which may in the figurative language of prophecy be called a *week*, the close of which should present us with *everlasting righteousness brought in and established, Vision and Prophecy sealed*<sup>1</sup>, and *the Most Holy anointed*<sup>2</sup>: that in a certain portion of this, sacrifice should terminate in the fall of the Temple and City; and that, from this period of "*the Abomination of desolation,*" "*even to the*" (*extreme*) "*END,*" desolation and indignation should be poured out, and which should eventually fall upon and destroy *the Desolator* himself:—seeing also, how all this is indissolubly connected with *the latter times*, and *fall of the Roman Empire*, whether we view it in the declarations of the Prophet, or of our Lord; we cannot doubt that we have discovered a sure clue to the truth, as it respects this interesting and most important question: and, if we find that the immediate followers of our Lord, spoke and wrote under the same views and feelings; we shall have it in our power to conclude, that the opinions held by our Author, and reasoned under in the following work, are worthy of all acceptance.

We have already seen, that the first portion of this prophetic week so divided, *necessarily* falls within the period of the Apostolical preaching: and also, from the words of our Lord, that *the* (*extreme*) *End* should not

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<sup>1</sup> Which must here signify *completed, fulfilled: sealing*, in the sense of closing up, being elsewhere determined to continue up to this period. (chap. xii. 9.)

<sup>2</sup> That is, the Christian Church, as shewn above.

come until the Gospel had been “*preached throughout the whole world, for a testimony to all nations.*” Now the commission with its grounds, given by our Lord to His Disciples, is, “*All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth.*” Go YE therefore, and TEACH ALL NATIONS, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,” (Matt. xxviii. 18, 19.) In Mark (xvi. 15) it is given in these words: “*Go YE into ALL THE WORLD, and preach the Gospel TO EVERY CREATURE.*” Then follows a recital of the powers they should possess, of the signs that should accompany them, and of the saving results to those who should believe. In the Acts of the Apostles (chap. i. 8), our Lord says to His Disciples, “*Ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall BE WITNESSES UNTO ME, both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea; and in Samaria, and UNTO THE UTTERMOST PART OF THE EARTH.*” There can be no doubt perhaps, that the *Disciples themselves* were here meant; that they did receive this power from above; that the signs and wonders here mentioned, did attend their preaching; that they did so preach in Jerusalem, throughout Judea, and Samaria, and in foreign nations; and that they actually did become witnesses unto Christ, even *unto the uttermost part of the earth.*

But, if the *whole* of this was not effected by them, it may be asked; For what purpose were they so gifted? and How can they be justified, in not having endeavoured to fulfil the whole of their Lord’s commands, especially when such signs and wonders were granted, and they had also received the positive promise, that Christ himself would ever be with them? The fact however appears to be, that they did so preach the Gospel every where; and also, that they succeeded to the full extent of the commission given; St. Paul himself declaring to the Colossians (chap. i. 6. 23.) that the Gospel had come to them, as it then was *in all the world, and which had (then) been preached to every creature under heaven*; and to the Romans (chap. x. 18), that “*yes verily, their*” (the Preachers’) “*sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world.*” To the same effect the testimony of our Author,—frequently

given in the following work,—together with that of all the primitive Fathers of the Church who have touched on this subject, may be adduced corroborative of this fact<sup>1</sup>. To what precise extent this was then done, it would, in the absence of the particular history of every region of the earth, be idle to inquire: it is enough for us to know, that both the word of inspired prophecy, and of the divine commission on the one hand, has been fully responded to by the inspired word of the Apostle on the other: and surely we need not doubt, that what the former meant, either in prediction or command, respectively; the latter also meant, as to the fulfilment of these: and which perhaps amounted to no more than this, viz. that the knowledge of the Lord should be carried abroad, under divine and miraculous means, as far as these should be necessary; and,—as in all other similar cases,—*no farther*: the same command and promise still lying on the Church, to use every effort both for its further propagation and perpetual maintenance. And, it may here be remarked, that after the times in which this great and good work was effected, miraculous powers were gradually withdrawn as unnecessary.

We may conceive then of the Apostles, as entered upon their work within *the first portion* of the prophetic Week cited above; and of *the many* spoken of by Daniel, running to and fro, that (divine) knowledge might be multiplied. Let us now see how they speak of these times, and whether they do, in a manner suitable to the predictions of Daniel already noticed.

The first instance that we shall fix upon, occurs early in the Apostolic preaching, viz. in the Acts (chap. ii. 16, 17.), immediately after the gift of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost: that is, after the new Church had received its consecration in the unction of the Holy Ghost. “*This*

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<sup>1</sup> On this subject the “*Lux Salutaris Evangelii*,” (Hamburgi, 1731) of Fabricius will be consulted with the greatest advantage and interest whence it will appear, that, according to the early Fathers, the Gospel was preached to the extent which both the commission of our Lord, and the predictions of the Prophets, required; and that this extended to every known part of the world.

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To which a very large number of parallel places might be added.

It should be borne in mind, that throughout the times of the preaching of the Apostles, there was generally neither opposition, nor persecution, presented to them by the Heathen. Wherever any thing of this kind happened, it originated with the Jews; whose inveteracy ended only with their loss of all power to give it effect. The Heathen, on the contrary, now enjoying a general peace; and governed by Emperors, many of whom felt no concern in opposing Christianity, afforded one of the best means—as our Author has well remarked<sup>1</sup>,—for its extension and establishment. Our Lord himself had moreover, assured the Disciples, that *all the power of the Enemy should be subject to them*<sup>2</sup>, which Eusebius has also very properly noticed. And, if this period may be termed “*the day of the Lord*, consisting of an “*Evening and Morning*,” or, be said to be equivalent to “*a Thousand years*,” in the language of

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<sup>1</sup> Our work below, pp. 155—6, seq. Lactantius tells us moreover, that even after the general persecution had begun under Domitian, the Church greatly extended itself under several mild emperors who followed. “*Rescissis igitur actis Tyranni (i. e. Domitiani), non modo in statum pristinum Ecclesia restituta est, sed etiam multo clarius ac floridius enituit; secutisque temporibus, quibus multi ac boni principes Romani imperii clavum regimenque tenuerunt...manus suas in orientem occidentemque porrexit, ut jam nullus esset terrarum angulus tam remotus quo non religio Dei penetrasset.*” De Mort. Persecutorum, III.

<sup>2</sup> Luke x. 17—25, ib. 18, “*I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven.*” Comp. John xii. 31; xvi. 11. Rev. xii. 9, 10. After this, ver. 12, seq. he commences the persecutions; but the Woman, i. e. the Church, is preserved during these times in safety; i. e. for *a time, times, and a half*; i. e. 3½ days, or during the first portion of our prophetic week. Comp. Mark xvi. 17, 18; and Matth. xii. 29. In Rev. xx. 2: The Dragon, the old Serpent, the Devil, *is bound for a thousand years*; after the expiration of which, he is to be let loose for a season. From ver. 4 to 7, *the Saints reign with Christ a thousand years*, i. e. during the period in which *Satan is bound*. This period is therefore, that of the *Apostolical Millennium*, and it is termed *a thousand years* for the reasons assigned above. See also my Exposition, p. 339, &c. At ver. 7, this period being expired, Satan is let loose to make war on the Saints. (ver 8, 9). After this his body is given to “*the burning flame*,” and then *the new heaven and new earth descend from above*. This period is therefore fixed.

prophecy ; it will be no extravagant thing to affirm, that this must have been the period, during which Satan should “*be bound for a thousand years :*” and therefore, *the Evangelical millennium of the Apocalypse*. According to Lactantius, the period of the Apostolic preaching extended through about five and twenty years ; after this, the work of evangelizing the Heathen must have been vigorously carried on by their successors.

It should also be observed here, that, as throughout the period of the Apostolic preaching a strong expectation was expressed, in strict conformity with our Lord’s enouncements, that another state of things should *shortly*<sup>3</sup> exist, in which there should be a falling away among Believers, the Abomination of desolation should be set up, and the Man of sin should be revealed, whom the Lord should destroy with the spirit of His mouth<sup>4</sup> ; and that, as this was to be in progress at least, during that very generation ; we may now conclude, that this was the period generally, in which *all the power of the Enemy was, as our Lord had promised, bound :* and during which, the Disciples did become *witnesses to Christ both in Jerusalem, and in all nations, actually preaching the Gospel to every creature,* as far as it was necessary miraculous powers should be employed to do this ; and, that this was the period foretold by Daniel, in which many should run to and fro, and knowledge be multiplied ; which synchronizes accurately with the first portion of Daniel’s seventieth week, already adverted to.

Let us now approach more particularly, the events predicted for the latter period of this prophetic Week,—those of the first having been touched upon—as referred to by the writers of the New Testament : and, if we find these all falling in with this last particular period ; our conclusion will be as well grounded, as it can be desired it should be, that these were the days in which *all*

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<sup>3</sup> From the prediction, that “*this generation shall not pass,*” &c., and “*There be some of them that stand here, which shall not taste of death, till they have seen the kingdom of God come with power,*” Mark ix. 1. Matth. xvi. 28...*the Son of Man coming in his kingdom.*” See also Luke ix. 27.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Thess. ii. 8 : presently to be noticed more particularly.

*things spoken by the Prophets respecting Christ should be fulfilled.*

The most remarkable passage to this effect occurs in the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, (chap. ii. ver. 2—11). It is evident from the context here, that a report had got abroad among the Thessalonians that *the day of Christ*, foretold in His memorable discourse with the Disciples (Matt. xxiv. 32—40, &c.) was very soon to arrive. The Apostle does not deny that this shall be the case, but warns them,—according to the tenor of that discourse,—that the signs to be taken, as intimations of the Lord's coming, had not yet appeared. “*Let no man deceive you,*” says He, “*by any means: for (that day shall not come,) except there come a falling away*” (read, *the falling away*, i. e. as predicted) “*first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God*”...“*And now ye know what withholdeth, that he might be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he who now letteth*” (will let), “*until he be taken out of the way. And then shall that wicked be revealed, whom the Lord SHALL CONSUME WITH THE SPIRIT OF HIS MOUTH, and shall destroy WITH THE BRIGHTNESS OF HIS COMING: even him, whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders,*” &c.

From certain parts of this it is evident, that the Apostle had in view the discourse of our Lord, in which *this falling away* is foretold, as is also *His coming*; the things then foretold being in answer to the question, *What shall be the sign of thy coming?* The signs and wonders moreover, here adverted to by the Apostle, are there said to be such as should, “*if possible deceive even the very elect:*” to which is added, “*As the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even to the west; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be:*” and then again,...“*After the tribulation of those days...then shall appear THE SIGN of the Son of man in heaven; and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall SEE THE SON OF MAN COMING IN THE CLOUDS OF HEAVEN*

WITH POWER AND GREAT GLORY<sup>1</sup>." And again, in the same context, "*Verily I say unto you, THIS GENERATION SHALL NOT PASS till all these things be,*" (i. e. in progress). It has already been observed that, in this Discourse, the Prophecy of Daniel is particularly recommended for investigation: and it is evident, from this last place, that *the coming of the Son of man in the clouds of heaven*, as mentioned by Daniel, is had in view.

We have seen generally, that the fall of the *Fourth* empire of Daniel, that is *the Roman*, was to precede the erection of the *Fifth* kingdom, which was to be that of the Saints: and that all the Visions of Daniel conspired in pointing this out, and thence in marking the period in which this should certainly come to pass. Let us now turn again to Daniel, and see, whether the more particular enouncements of that Prophet, conspire in declaring the same thing.

In the first of these Visions (chap. ii. 28. 35. seq.) we learn that "*in the latter days*"...the image of iron, clay, brass, silver, and gold, should be struck on the feet and broken to pieces, by a stone cut out of the mountain without hands; and that this stone should grow into a great mountain, and fill the whole earth. Which is thus explained, in verse 42. seq. "*As the toes of the feet were part of iron, and part of clay, so the kingdom shall be partly strong, and partly broken.*" And it is added, ver. 44. "*In the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed...it shall break in pieces, and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever.*" It should seem here, that as the feet were to be taken as representing this *last kingdom* generally, so were the toes perhaps to designate the *Ten kings*, mentioned in one of the other visions. These ten kings must therefore fall, before this last kingdom could be set up: and these *can possibly represent no other Powers*, except those of the latter period of the Roman Empire.

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<sup>1</sup> The coming in the clouds is, in the Old Testament, generally accompanied with great terrors and tribulations: comp. Isaiah v. 30; viii. 22, seq.; ix. 1, 18, seq. evidently relating to these times. Also Ps. xviii. xxix. and civ. Such was the revelation of Christ on Sinai, Deut. iv. 11. seq. Joel ii. 2, seq.; ib. ver. 30, seq.

In the seventh chapter, we have the particulars of the latter part of the Fourth kingdom specified, with still greater precision; and here again, the termination of these is followed by the establishment of the same everlasting, and universal dominion, as already noticed. Let us endeavour to see what these particulars mean. In ver. 7, we are told that the *Fourth Beast*, or Dynasty, had “*Ten horns* :” it is added (ver. 8), “*I considered the horns, and behold there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots; and, behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things* (ver. 11),...“*I beheld then, because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake: I beheld even TILL THE BEAST WAS SLAIN, and HIS BODY DESTROYED, and GIVEN TO THE BURNING FLAME.*”

It should be observed, that it is not merely this horn which is destroyed, but *the beast and his whole body* is given to *the burning flame*. By the *beast and his body* therefore, must be meant, *the Dynasty*, not merely some constituent part of it. And we are told accordingly (ver. 23), that “*the Fourth beast is the fourth kingdom, or Dynasty: and* (ver. 24), that the “*ten horns out of this kingdom, are ten kings that shall arise, and (that) another shall arise after them; and he shall be diverse from the first, and shall subdue three kings. And* (ver. 25), *he shall speak (great) words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws; and they (the saints) shall be given into his hand UNTIL A TIME, AND TIMES, AND THE DIVIDING OF TIME. But,*” it is added, “*the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it UNTO THE END.*” Then, as before, the kingdom under the whole heavens is given to the Saints, and, it is added, “*Hitherto is THE END OF THE MATTER.*” Enouncements equivalent to these, are also given in the eighth chapter (ver. 23, seq). “*In the LATTER TIMES of their kingdom, when transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences shall stand up. And his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power; and he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practise, and shall destroy THE MIGHTY AND HOLY PEOPLE, and*

through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand; and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and by peace shall he destroy many: he shall also stand up against the Prince of princes; but he shall BE BROKEN WITHOUT HAND." It is added, "*The Vision of the EVENING AND MORNING is true.*"

It must be obvious I think, that the same particulars are had in view in each of these Visions: that in the first, "*the latter days,*" (chap. ii. 28,) must synchronize with "*the end,*" (chap. vii. 26,) which (ib. ver. 25) closes with that styled, "*a time, times and the dividing of time:*" and thus again, (chap. viii. 19,) with that termed, "*the time appointed,* THE END: and (ib. ver. 26,) that of *the evening and morning*; and particularly with the portion designated by the latter term used here<sup>1</sup>. The Horn's making war with the Saints and prevailing against them, (chap. vii. 21), followed as it is with destruction from the Almighty, *even to the time of the end*, seems to me to identify itself, beyond all doubt, with the king's here destroying the mighty and the holy people, and prospering until he is broken without (human) hand (or power): His *speaking great words*, too (chap. vii. 25), seems to identify itself with, "*He shall magnify himself in his heart,*" here: all which is terminated by styling the Vision that of *the Evening and Morning*.

In chapter xi. these particulars are again taken up, and dwelt upon still more minutely. After learning from verse 30, that *ships shall come from Chittim*,—which must here mean from the West,—we are informed that this power shall *pollute the sanctuary, take away the daily sacrifice, and place the abomination that maketh desolate*<sup>2</sup>, as noticed above. Then, after being told (ib. ver. 35), that "*some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white,* EVEN TO THE TIME OF THE END,"—in strict accordance with the prediction, that

<sup>1</sup> These terms must therefore, necessarily designate the same period: and here, that last portion of Daniel's seventieth week.

<sup>2</sup> Shewing plainly enough that this does not refer to Antiochus Epiphanes, who did not make, or cause, a desolation of the Sanctuary; besides, our Lord's directing us to its fulfilment, after his times, ought to satisfy all doubt on this point.

war should be made against the Saints; that this power should wear them out, and prosper, even during the period of *a time, times, and the dividing of time*,—a particular description is given of this Power, thus (ver. 36): “*The king shall do according to his will; and shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper TILL THE INDIGNATION BE ACCOMPLISHED: for that that is determined shall be done,*” (completed). *Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women<sup>1</sup>, nor regard any god; for he shall magnify himself above all. But in his estate shall he honour the god of forces: and a god whom his fathers knew not shall he honour with gold and silver, and with precious stones, and pleasant things. Thus shall he do in the most strong holds with a strange god, whom he shall acknowledge and increase with glory: and he shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain,*” &c. And we are again told (chap. xii. 6, 7.), that these wonders shall continue, “*for a time, times, and a half;*” and that, “*when He shall have accomplished to scatter (abroad,) the power of the Holy People, ALL THESE THINGS SHALL BE FINISHED.*” That all the particulars of each of these Visions must synchronize, it must be too obvious to admit of a moment’s doubt: as it also must, that the establishment of the Christian Church on earth, immediately upon the fall of the *Roman Heathen Dynasty*, presents us with the period, at which they all were to be completed.

Let us now endeavour to identify, as far as the nature of the case will allow us, the persons here designated under the figure of *Horns*: a term usually applied in the Scriptures to imply strength. The *Beast* itself is, as already shewn, put to represent the *Heathen Dynasty of Rome*; the *Horns* certain powers, arising within it. These *horns* we are told are *ten*, after which *another*, unlike the preceding ones, shall arise and make war on the

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<sup>1</sup> This, occurring as it does in context speaking of Deities, was probably intended to designate the Messiah, who was the desire of women, as it should seem, among the ancient Hebrews.

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We have (Dan. vii. 25.) a particular, which will afford us some assistance in this question. It is said that the Saints shall be given into this king's hands, during the period termed "*a time, times, and the dividing of time:*" that is, during *the whole period* elsewhere assigned to the war to be carried on against the Saints. Again, (chap. viii. 25,) this persecutor is said to be a king of fierce countenance; and again (chap. xi. 36), The king, it is said, shall do according to his will: and (in chap xii. 7) this is to continue as before, for "*a time, times, and a half.*" Which seems to speak of the whole work of persecution, as if placed in the hands of *one Persecutor*: or, in other words, to speak of these in the aggregate under the person of one only.

If then we may consider these Persecutors, as all comprehended under one general description of character, or, it may be, under a description, summing up the whole of what they all were—otherwise we shall have no description whatever of them<sup>1</sup>; we may now inquire, how far that given by the Prophet will correspond with that, which is given of the persecuting Roman Emperors above mentioned, and whether this will agree with that, of St. Paul's "*Man of sin*" already adverted to. The first character is, that *this Dynasty, or Beast*, should be diverse (Dan. vii. 7, &c.) from all that had preceded it. This consisted, among other things, in the fact, that it persecuted a

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<sup>1</sup> This usage is common enough in the Hebrew Bible, by which something affirmed of *the Whole*, is applied also distributively to each of the individuals composing it: e. g. "*As for man, his days are as grass.*" which is equivalent to, As for men, the days of each and every of them is but as grass. A very remarkable instance of this sort is Job xl. 15, "*Behold now the beasts...each eating grass like the ox,*" which has been made to say, "*Behold now Behemoth,*" &c., thus creating by one slight grammatical error, an enormous nondescript animal! See my Translation and Commentary. The book of the Revelation too, speaking of these, as we shall presently shew, says (chap. xvii. 13), "*These have ONE MIND, and shall give their power and strength to the beast. These shall make war with the Lamb,*" &c. Gr. οὗτοι μίαν γνώμην ἔχουσι," κ. τ. λ. and Lactantius, speaking of Diocletian and Maximianus, says: "*Nec enim possent in amicitia tam fideli cohærere nisi esset in utroque mens una, eadem cogitatio, par voluntas, æqua sententia.*" (Mort. Persecut. viii.) Which surely may be said of them all.

very large portion of its own subjects, purely on account of their religious belief.

It had in the next place *a little Horn*, which grew up among, and (ver. 24) after, the *ten* others: and this, according to our arrangement above, was Licinius. He was the last in order, and before him,—affected in one way or other by his politics,—*three* of the other Persecutors fell (ver. 8. 20. 24). He was too, to be *diverse* from the first persecutors (ver. 24). According to Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. Lib. ix. cap. viii.) he made *new laws* of a most oppressive character; abrogated the ancient ones relating to marriage, death, &c.; gave the wives of incarcerated nobles, as well as virgins, to be abused by his menials; invented *new modes* of slaughter, torture, &c. According to Aurelius Victor, he was an enemy to letters, and particularly to all learning of a forensic nature; and was immoderately avaricious. He was diverse also, as being *a little Horn* or *power*, unable to carry the persecution beyond the limits of his own particular rule, because he was associated with Constantine in the empire.

Taking then these characters in the aggregate, i. e. the whole, described as existing in one person (Dan. vii. 25, &c.) “*he shall speak great words against the most High,*” &c. as cited above, (p. cxxiv.) also chap viii. 23: ix. 32. Let us now see, how far the description given of these heathen Roman persecutors, will agree with all this.

Our first Horn, King, or Persecutor, Domitian, is thus described by the historians. Suetonius (Lib. xii.) says of him: “*Bona vivorum et mortuorum usquequaque, quolibet et accusatore et crimine corripiebantur: satis erat objici quaecumque factum dictumque adversum majestatem principis. Confiscebantur alienissimæ hereditates: vel existente uno qui diceret, audisse se ex defuncto, cum viveret, heredem sibi Cæsarem esse.*” And again, “*Pari arrogantia cum procuratorum suorum nomine formalem dictaret epistolam, sic cœpit: Dominus et Deus noster sic fieri jubet*”... “*Statuas sibi in Capitolio nonnisi aureas et argenteas poni permisit, ac ponderis certi... Per hæc terribilis cunctis et invisus, tandem oppressus est.*” So also Sextus Aurelius Victor (cap. xi), after speaking of his vices says: “*Major libidinum flagitio, ac plus quam superbe utens Patribus:*

quippe qui se *Dominum Deumque* dici coëgerit:" and again in his Epitome (cap. xi.) to the same effect. Similar accounts, to some extent, are given of him both by Lactantius and Eusebius, who make him the author of the Second Persecution. It is obvious therefore, that he uttered blasphemies *against the most High*: magnified himself against every thing called God: honoured a god with gold and silver, &c. whom his Fathers knew not, and this in a strong hold, the Capitol: that he destroyed the Holy People<sup>1</sup>, and *seized upon the land*, if he did not actually divide it, for gain.

Our second Persecutor is Decius. Lactantius says of him (Mort. Persecut. iv); "*Extitit enim post annos plurimos execrabile animal Decius, qui vexaret Ecclesiam:*" he then tells us of his miserable end. We may remark, that as this writer terms the persecutor here, "*execrabile animal,*" and some of the others, "*Bestiæ*" generally, it is not improbable he had the predictions of Daniel, and the passages corresponding to these in the Revelation, in his mind.

Valerian is our third Persecutor: of him Dionysius (in Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. vii. cap. x.) tells us, that it had been revealed to John (Rev. xiii. 5.) that there was given to him a mouth speaking great and impious things; and, that power was given to *him forty and two months*: which Baronius explains, as marking out accurately *the three years and a half* of his reign (Notes of Valesius, ib.). Whatever Dionysius might have meant by this,—and his referring it at all to this place of the Revelation, is worthy of remark,—it is obvious enough, that the whole period of the persecutions is, as we have already shewn, marked out by this period. His persecuting the Church is then generally mentioned, with his unhappy end. Lactantius says of him generally: "*Non multo post Valerianus quoque non dissimili furore correptus, impias manus in Deum intentavit, et multum, quamvis brevi tempore, justi sanguinis fudit.*" He then mentions his miserable end.

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<sup>1</sup> Let it be remembered, the Jews could not now be called either "*the mighty,*" or "*the holy people.*" Their power was gone, as was their holiness; and God's people were now *called by a new name.* Isaiah lxii. 2.

Of Aurelian, our fourth persecutor, Lactantius says, ‘Qui esset natura vœsanus et præceps, quamvis captivitatis Valeriani meminisset, tamen oblitus sceleris ejus et pœnæ, iram Dei crudelibus factis laccessivit.’ To this he adds a short account of his early death. To the same effect, Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. Lib. vii. cap. xxx). He is spoken of by Flavius Vopiscus Syracusius, as Divine (*Divus*), whence it should seem, he claimed the title of *Deity*; and as being a severe, cruel, and bloody Prince: “Aurelianus, quod negari non potest, severus, truculentus, sanguinarius fuit Princeps” (ib. cap. xxxv.).

We now come to Diocletian, our fifth persecutor. He is described by Lactantius as the inventor of vices, and of every sort of evil, and as an enemy to God. He divided the empire into four parts; and so multiplied the rapes of virgins, exactions, and confiscations of every kind, for the purpose of satisfying his own lust and avarice, that the greatest distress, with an incredible scarcity, ensued: much blood was shed for the smallest offences; and in all these his vices, Maximianus (i. e. Heraclius) his colleague, cordially partook. According to Sextus Aurelius Victor (De Cæsar. cap. xxxix.), he allowed himself,—the first after Caligula and Domitian,—to be openly addressed as *Lord*, and to be addressed and worshipped as *God*: “Namque se primus omnium Caligulam post, Domitianumque, *Dominum* palam dici passus, et adorari se, appellarique uti *Deum*”<sup>2</sup>.

Constantius and Galerius (Maximianus) were chosen for his other colleagues, each of whom received the title of *Cæsar*. But, as Constantius used the utmost clemency in his portion of the empire, which was Britain, Gaul, and Spain (having from the first given up Africa and Italy), he has not been ranked among the persecutors. In Galerius however, to whom the origin of this last persecution is

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<sup>2</sup> Eutropius says of him: “Diocletianus moratus callide fuit, *sagax* præterea, et *admodum subtilis ingenio*, et qui severitatem suam aliena invidia vellet explere, diligentissimus tamen et solertissimus Princeps; et qui in Imperio Romano primus regiæ consuetudinis formam, magis quam Romanæ libertatis, invexit; *adorarique se jussit*, cum ante eum cuncti salutarentur; ornamenta gemmarum vestibus indidit.” See also Suidas sub voce Διοκλητιανός.

generally ascribed, every thing seems to have concurred, calculated to form the complete Persecutor and Tyrant. Lactantius tells us that he commenced his most insolent career, wishing to have it thought that he was *the progeny of Mars*, and another Romulus (so far *honouring the God of forces*), *as descended from the Gods*. He soon got rid of his father-in-law Diocletian, as he also did of Maximianus, the two Augusti. After this he nominated two creatures of his own, Severus and Maximinus; who, as it might be expected, concurred in following out his sanguinary measures to the utmost. In the mean time Maxentius<sup>1</sup>, the son of Maximianus, encouraged by his misrule, assumed the Purple at Rome; which tempted his Father also to reassume his: who indeed had never cordially resigned it. Severus was sent to put down Maxentius, but fell in the attempt. Maximianus, after some attempts to destroy Constantine, also fell: upon which Galerius and Constantine named Licinius *Cæsar*. From the confusion now happening, there was at one time not fewer than six *Cæsars*, viz. *Maximianus, Galerius, Constantinus, Maximinus, Maxentius, and Licinius*. Maximianus and Maxentius however soon fell by the hands of Constantine<sup>2</sup>; the latter partly, as it should seem, by the aid of Licinius who had received the sister of Constantine in marriage, and who hence acted in concert with him.

Maximinus had, in the mean time, secretly formed an alliance with Maxentius; and, as Licinius was now in the interest of Constantine, Maximinus and he regarded each other as rivals. It appears extremely probable, that this alone prevented Maximinus from acting against Constantine in his expedition against Maxentius. It is also said, that Licinius *undertook an expedition against Galerius*<sup>3</sup>, in the

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<sup>1</sup> Who, according to Eusebius and others, was greatly addicted to magic. Hist. Eccl. Lib. ix. cap. ix.

- The latter, as Eusebius tells, not unlike the fall of Pharaoh, for he perished in the Tiber. Ib.

<sup>3</sup> So Pomponius Lætus Hist. compend. Lib. ii. "Sunt qui scribunt Licinium in nuptiis, ut Constantino gratificarentur, milites appellasse Imperatorem: et ab Constantino missum contra Galerium. Sed verisimilius est Imperatorem factum ab Galerio, ut simul et hostilitatis litterarum et ingratitude accusari posset."

service of Constantine; that Galerius sorely repented his having made Licinius *Cæsar*<sup>4</sup>; and also, that Licinius did eventually put to death all the children of Galerius<sup>5</sup>. So far I think it appears, that Licinius did contribute towards the fall of Galerius; which however was finally effected by a most loathsome disease, inflicted on him by the Almighty.

Not long after this, Maximinus<sup>6</sup> was vanquished by Licinius in a severe battle, fought between Heraclea and Adrianople. Three of these persecutors therefore, actually fell before Licinius, either mediately, or immediately; and so far, the word of prophecy was complied with.

A short time after this, Licinius, who had now succeeded to the sovereignty of Maximinus, succeeded also to the work of persecution which had been carried on by him<sup>7</sup>; and on this, and some other accounts, war was made upon him by Constantine. After three severe battles, the last of which established the sole power of Constantine, and was fought both by sea and land, just as the prophet had foretold it should be<sup>8</sup>, Licinius fell. With this ended the last most

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<sup>4</sup> And, it is worthy of remark, Pomponius tells us that it was upon this very occasion, that Galerius repented of having made Licinius *Cæsar*: his words are, "In itinere quum acciperet de futura militum defectione, qui ita convenerant, si cum Maxentio conflixisset Illyriam rediit: et jam pœnitebat legisse Licinium." And Eusebius speaks of Constantine and Licinius, as engaged against Maxentius and Maximinus. Hist. Eccl. Lib. ix. cap. ix.

<sup>5</sup> "Nam Galerii liberos affines jure sodalitatis et consortii, interfecit" (Licinius). Pomp. Læt. ib.

<sup>6</sup> According to Eusebius, the immediate cause of his death was a disease inflicted by the Almighty. Hist. Eccl. Lib. ix. cap. x.

<sup>7</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. x. cap. viii. Who tells us, that new methods of slaughter, exactions, admeasurements of the lands, and rapes of women, were also set on foot by him, for the purpose of satisfying his lust and avarice.

<sup>8</sup> This is probably had in view (Dan. xi. 40, seq.), where it is said: "And at the time of the End shall the king of the south push at him, and the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships." Licinius was, when he was *Augustus* with Constantine, sovereign of the south, Egypt, Libya, &c. Upon his seeking occasion for war against Constantine, which it appears was the case, and upon this war's breaking out, he might, perhaps, have been considered as divested of this rule in the mind of the prophet; and the fact is, as Eusebius affirms (Hist. Eccl. Lib. x. cap. ix.), Constantine was,

fearful and bloody persecution that the Church ever witnessed, and this had continued upwards of ten years. The Gospel had already been "*preached to every creature under heaven*;" and, during this period, it had been carried out, received, tried, and established, in places innumerable; so that *Kings and Queens*, as Eusebius has declared<sup>1</sup>, now became *its nursing fathers and nursing mothers*; and now were therefore fulfilled the terms of prophecy.

During the whole of this latter period, in which the politics of Galerius were in full play—except only as checked by Constantine—the characters sustained by the persecuting Emperors, were necessarily of a piece with his own; and the consequence was, exactions, taxations, and proscriptions, the most grievous were carried on. The lands *were actually measured out for gain*; every species of produce was noted down, and the people arbitrarily assessed by public Censors, in the most exorbitant and cruel manner. Beggary was now the only refuge from extortion: and, in this case, multitudes were inhumanly murdered.

It was too, under the rule of Galerius and his creatures, that the heathen Priests were, for the first time, every where put into the highest offices of the state, for the purpose of driving more effectually the measures of

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upon the fall of Licinius, recognised emperor of the south. In that case Constantine would be considered sovereign of the south; and, as he had lately obtained signal victories over the Sarmatians, the Goths, and other people of the north, he would be sovereign of the north also. It is the fact that he came upon Licinius out of the north, and that his fleet, commanded by his son Crispus, also gave him battle in the straits of Gallipoli; in both of which encounters Licinius was vanquished. The remaining context (Dan. xi. 40), from this place to the end, is probably a recital of the proceedings of Licinius immediately before his fall; and the mention of Egypt, with Libya and Ethiopia, being at his steps with their riches, seems, I think, to confirm this: for, however unjustly he might have retained this sovereignty, after breaking faith with Constantine who ceded it to him, he did, de facto, exercise that authority, and received tribute from those countries.

<sup>1</sup> In his commentary on Isaiah xlix. 23. His words are: *οπερ και αυτὸ κατὰ λέξιν πληρούμενον αυτοῖς ἴδομεν ὀφθαλμοῖς.* "Quod ad literam impletum ipsis oculis cernimus." And the sentiment is often repeated in our following work.

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same Power, setting up as it did in these Rulers, this very claim; and enforcing it, for the first time, by fire, sword, and every species of torment, upon the very people that St. Paul was then addressing. It must have been, I say, the combined and continued rule here had in view, which so exactly falls in both with, the times, and persons here mentioned.

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πρωτον): that is, some apostacy already known, and most probably that foretold by our Lord (Matt. xxiv. 10—13): “*Then shall many be offended, and shall betray one another,*” &c. Again, “*The man of sin... the son of perdition*” (Gr. ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀμαρτίας, ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας) must also mean some person, of whom previous notice had been given. No such person is mentioned in our Lord’s prediction; but, as he refers us to Daniel, it is likely we must there look for him. In Daniel then, as we have seen, such person is mentioned, who, it is there foretold, *shall fall, shall be given to the burning flame, and hence shall be consumed.* We are also told,—and we are told this no where else,—that “*he shall speak great things against the most High; shall magnify himself above every God, shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods,*” &c. St. Paul tells us, “*that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God;*” “*exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped.*” Which I think I may affirm is a mere citation of this place in Daniel; not indeed verbatim, but giving the true theological sense and bearing of it; to which a parallel can no where else be found. Besides, the terms “*εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ὡς Θεὸν καθίσαι,*” does not necessarily mean, “*that he as God sitteth in the Temple of God;*” but, may be rendered, *that he himself sitteth for the Temple of God, as God;* i. e. he sits to be taken *for the Temple of God,* and as containing the Deity within him; so putting himself forward as God: it being well known, that the ancients held every extraordinary person,—as indeed the orientals now do,—to be *filled with the anima mundi* in an extraordinary manner: and hence, the king of Babylon said of Daniel, “*the spirit of the Holy Gods is in him.*” The Hellenistic usage of *εἰς* will fully admit of this. See Schleusner sub voce, and my Visitation Sermon and Notes, p. 60, seq. St. Paul moreover, so qualifies this passage as to make it certain, that the person spoken of by him was *soon* to appear. That *the apostacy,* or falling away, was then also in progress there can be no doubt. St. Paul himself tells us (Gal. ii. 4), that certain “*false brethren had crept in unawares,*” &c. In 2 Pet. ii. 1, these are styled *false teachers, who should bring in damnable heresies.* See the whole chapter, and Jude 4, seq. 1 John ii. 18, 19. “*They went out from us,*” &c. 1 Tim. iv. 1—3. “*Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats,*” &c. Which the heretics of those times did, to the very letter; and which none since that day have done, except partially.

Let us now examine a few other places of the New Testament, which, from the manner of their wording, seem to relate to the same particulars. In the Revelation<sup>1</sup> (chap. xiii. 1 seq.) we have a *Beast* rising “*out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns.*” And (ib. ver. 5) there was given to him *a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies*; ... “and he opened his mouth *in blasphemy against God, to blaspheme his name, and his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven.*” It is added: “And it was given him *to make war with the saints, and to overcome them.*” Nothing is here said about his sitting *in* the Temple of God; but only, of his blaspheming against God and his Tabernacle. Here also, as in Daniel (chap. vii.) the *Beast* comes up out of the sea. It has likewise “*Ten horns* (vv. 7, 20) *and a mouth speaking great things.*” And (ver 21) one of these horns makes war on the saints: *speaks great words against the most High, and wears out the saints*: and this he does during a period termed “*a time, times, and the dividing of time:*” and then he is to fall. In the Revelation, this is to continue for “*forty and two months.*” In the one case, *three times and a half* is given; and in the other, *three years and a half*: intended, apparently, to mark the same period. In Daniel (chap. xi. 36, seq.) the same power is described: which (xii. 7) is to continue for *a time, times, and a half*; and then, when the power of the holy people shall be scattered abroad, all these things are *to be finished*<sup>2</sup>: and (ib. ver. 11) we are told, that from the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate is set up, there shall (till the time of the end) a period of *twelve hundred and ninety days* elapse, exceeding inconsiderably that of *three years and a half*. Again, in Daniel (viii. 9, seq.) we have apparently the same Power described; but the time given

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<sup>1</sup> I do not think any apology necessary to justify a comparison of the Revelation with other parts of the New Testament, and with certain parts of the Old; because I see no reason why it should be supposed, that this book contains in itself anything independent of the rest of the Scriptures. On its authority, see Sir Isaac Newton, Part ii.

<sup>2</sup> This holy people cannot be the Jews, as mentioned above; because both their power and their holiness had left them.

for its duration is, *two thousand and three hundred days*: a period greatly exceeding any of those hitherto mentioned. But, as this period falls but little short of seven years, it is not improbable, Daniel's whole prophetic week may have been intended. Be this as it may however, it is certain, from the events mentioned, that it must have ended with those *which closed that week*. The same Persecuting Power is therefore, apparently, had in view in all these places.

Let us now return to Rev. xiii. 7. It is here said, that "*power was given him over all kindreds, and tongues, and nations.*" It is evident Daniel's fourth kingdom was to be thus universal (comp. chap. ii. 39, 40: vii. 23): and, from the nature of the case, as already shewn, that must have pointed out the *heathen Roman power*<sup>1</sup>: and there seems to be as little room for doubt, this must mean the same.

Again. Rev. xvii. 3, the same Beast, having seven heads and *ten horns*, is presented to us: and we are told (ib. ver. 9) that "*the seven heads are seven mountains, on which the woman sitteth*"<sup>2</sup>: and (ver. 12) "*the ten horns... are ten kings, who receive power as kings ONE HOUR with the beast.*" "*These,*" it is added, "*have one mind*"...

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<sup>1</sup> Let it not be supposed, as it sometimes is, that anything more is meant in the predictions of these four monarchies, than the fact of their fall *as monarchies*; and of the last, of its fall as an *heathen monarchy*, to be followed by the erection of one that should *be religious* and never-ending; succeeding the last, nevertheless, in the possession even of earthly dominion: Kings then becoming the nursing Fathers, and Queens the nursing Mothers of the Church. It is quite foreign to the question therefore to suppose, with Sir Isaac Newton, that, as Persians and Greeks still exist, we may still extend these predictions to them; or, with others that, as Czars (Cæsars) are still in being, we may therefore still look to such fragments of the Roman empire, as may suit us, for a further fulfilment of these prophecies. This is deliberately and blindly to break down, and to remove, the ancient landmarks which have been given for our guidance; and to take into our hands, things with which we have no right to meddle.

<sup>2</sup> In J. Vaillant's book on coins (Par. 1694, p. 30) we have an account of one of the coins of Vespasian thus given: "*Roma Figura muliebris septem Romæ collibus insidens, ad quarum radices lupa cum puerulis.*" One would imagine, that the Evangelist had this very coin before him when he gave this description!

“*these shall make war with the Lamb: and the Lamb shall overcome them.*” We are then told, that the waters seen by the Evangelist, “*where the whore sitteth, are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues,*” implying, as before, universal rule: which is confirmed by ver. 18, which says: “*And the woman (drunken with the blood of the saints, ver. 6) which thou sawest is that great city, which REIGNETH over the kings of the earth.*” The then reigning city was, as every one knows, remarkable for *its seven hills*: its *ten*<sup>3</sup> persecuting Cæsars, did, as we have seen, make war upon the saints; did, for a certain period, prevail against them; and this was in the last portion of the last prophetic week of Daniel’s seventy; which might well be described by any period mystically called *an hour, three days and a half*, or the like.

In chapter xvi. 10, 11, the kingdom of the Beast is filled with darkness, because a vial of God’s wrath is poured out upon it: they now gnaw their tongues for pain, and *blaspheme the God of heaven*. Evil spirits (ver. 13, 14) then proceed out of the mouth of the dragon (that old serpent the devil), and out of the mouth of *the Beast, and of the false Prophet*, working miracles to deceive if possible the Elect, and to stir up all to battle *against God himself*. The judgment then sits (xvii. 1, as in Dan. vii. 22, 26) upon this great whore; and (chap. xviii. 2) the sentence is proclaimed, “*Babylon the great*<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> The *eleventh*, or *little horn*, is not taken into the account in the Revelation; the round number, with the other particulars there given, being quite sufficient to point out the dynasty of heathen Rome. It is truly pitiable to observe the impotent and vulgar ribaldry of Gibbon on this subject; who, although he allows that all the folly of millenarians was to be attributed to their ignorance of the books of Daniel and the Apocalypse, indulges nevertheless in sneering at Christianity on this account; and particularly, because the groundless notion had obtained currency, that the world was about to be destroyed by fire! Decline and Fall, &c. chap. xv.

<sup>4</sup> Rome was, for some reason or other, occasionally called *Babylon* in these times. Babylon was too, the Mother of harlots: it was in the plains of Shinaar that idolatry took its rise; it stands first in the order of the dynasties moreover, in Daniel’s first vision; it oppressed the  
 captive

*is fallen,*" (ver. 8,) "she shall be utterly *burned with fire,*" shall be consumed with the spirit of his mouth; "for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her;" from before whom "a fiery stream issued and came forth," (Dan. vii. 10, 11): and the body of the *Beast*, is accordingly "given to the burning flame."

Similar to this is chap. xiv. 6, seq. where we learn, that, after the everlasting Gospel has been carried forth into every nation, Babylon is declared to have fallen: according to our Lord's prediction, the END had now come. This is repeated in terms a little different (chap. xx. 9, 10) where we are told, that the devil is turned into hell, with the *Beast* and the *false Prophet*, and that they are there to be tormented for ever. After this, the new heaven and new earth promised by the Prophet<sup>1</sup>, and then expected by the Church, comes down, as does the New Jerusalem, from God out of heaven; and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it<sup>3</sup>. The power of the holy people is therefore, now extended far and wide: and (Dan. xii. 7) *all these things are finished*. In like manner (Rev. x. 6, 7) an oath is sworn, "that there shall be time no longer," but that now, the mystery of God is finished, as He hath declared to his servants the prophets: when, again (Rev. xi. 15) "The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; who shall reign for ever and ever." The same thing is said virtually (chap. xvii. 16, 17), where we are told;

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captive Israelites—as Egypt did—and hence its fall was predicted by several prophets; and here, for a similar reason, the terms of some of those predictions are applied to heathen Rome.

<sup>1</sup> Isaiah lxxv. 17; lxxvi. 22.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Pet. iii. 13. Examine this chapter from ver. 7 to the end, with the parallel passages marked in the margin, and it will be found, that no dissolution of the natural world could have been meant. It had long been foretold, that the Jewish polity should be destroyed *by fire*; comp. Deut. xxxii. 21, with Rom. x. 19; and ib. Deut. ver. 22, seq. and ver. 43, which unites, as here, the nations with the Church of God.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. xxi. 2—10, 24. "The tabernacle of God is with men" (3)...in which *all things are made new* (5). See also chap. iii. 12, where the coming down of the New Jerusalem is also mentioned, and the *new name* to be written upon believers, i. e. *Christian*.

that God hath put it into the hearts of these Persecuting Powers to have one mind (comp. ver. 13), and to fulfil his will, so that they should (in effect) hate the whore, and eventually make her desolate<sup>4</sup> ... until *the words of God* (as spoken by all his prophets) *should be fulfilled*. In the words of our Lord, the Gospel had now been preached in all nations, and THE END was come: the days had now closed, in which *all things* foretold of Him should be fulfilled: the *latter days* were now passed, and the kingdom, having no such terms or period assigned to it, was for ever established.

It is not my intention to follow out this question further here, or to enter on a detailed account of the Book of the Revelation, having done this to some extent elsewhere<sup>5</sup>. I would remark on this Book generally, that if the passages noticed above are so particularly limited and defined by the circumstances and events adverted to—which I think it is impossible not to see—then it must be certain, no ingenuity can fairly apply them, either to any other period, or to any other events whatsoever. And, if this be the case, then we have all the leading events determined and fixed; which will supply a sufficient clue to the true and complete developement of all the other particulars, there laid down by the Evangelist. To me the Revelation seems to

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<sup>4</sup> It is evident from the context here, as compared with chap. xiii. 1, and with the parallel places in Daniel, that the same persecuting powers are meant in all; and if so, *they must form a part of THE LATTER DAYS of the heathen Roman empire*: which indeed is sufficiently clear, even from the Book of Revelation itself. Their *hating* and *desolating* the whore therefore, must here be understood metonymically, i. e. as doing this *in effect*; an usage by *ne* means rare in Holy Writ. See Isaiah iii. 8, 9, 14; ix. 20, seq.—This did not occur to me when I wrote my Exposition on this book. I then followed Dr. Hammond, erroneously placing these powers beyond the limit assigned to them by Daniel and St. John.

<sup>5</sup> “Six Sermons on the Study of the Holy Scriptures...to which are annexed Two Dissertations,” &c. London: 1830. James Duncan, Paternoster Row; where a large number of the prophecies are brought to bear on this subject, as are many opinions of the Fathers. Still this question requires a much more extended investigation, which I hope one day to give it.

contain three distinct visions<sup>1</sup>: the first ending with chapter iii.: the second, with chapter xiii.: and the third, to which additions are made, with the end of the Book. The first Vision contains a warning, perhaps, to the whole Christian Church then in being: the second and third, are different visions relating to the same things; the latter, as in the visions of Daniel, being the more full and particular. The parallel passages cited in the margins of our common Bibles, if diligently compared with one another, and with those also given in the places referred to, and particularly as explained in various parts of the New Testament, will supply perhaps the best commentary that can be written on this Book. Add to this, its own repeated declarations, that what was then said was *shortly to come to pass*<sup>2</sup>; and we shall be led to a conclusion as strong as words and facts can make it, that the purposes of God, as declared by the Prophets, and generally summed up in this Book, have been long ago fulfilled and finished.

If, on the other hand, we are to interpret this Book with those of the Prophets generally, by the *resemblances* supposed to exist between the declarations made, and certain events of history, which have, or have not yet, come to pass, independently of any other limiting and determining considerations,—as it has usually been the case;—then I will allow, these declarations may be made to speak of any, or every, extraordinary person or event, which has hitherto existed, or may hereafter exist, on earth: and the consequence must be,—as it certainly has long been the case,—that the *more sure word of Pro-*

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<sup>1</sup> Primasius, quoted in my Exposition (p. 305), has these remarkable words on this subject: “Post ipsam utique visionem se alteram memorat videsse: non gestorum est diversum tempus, sed visionum: ac si quis unam rem diversis modis enarret.” And again (ib. p. 333), “Quicquid igitur in tubis minus dixit, hic in phialis est. Nec est aspiciendus ordo dictorum, quoniam sæpe Spiritus Sanctus ubi ad novissimi temporis finem percurrerit, rursus ad eadem tempora redit, et supplet ea quæ minus dixit.” Nothing is more common with the prophets, than to repeat the same predictions again and again. The things detailed in the two last visions of this book, are so clearly identical, that, it must be matter of the greatest wonder, this should have been so constantly overlooked.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. i. 1, 3; iii. 11; xxii. 7, 10, 12, 20.

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and on which the primitive Church implicitly relied<sup>1</sup>, and which it urged with so much effect and success,—as I might on the power supplied to the Infidel, the Scoffer, and the Lukewarm:—but I forbear. If I have said enough to rouse others to a more rational and extended inquiry on these subjects, I shall have gained my point, having no doubt that the truth will in the end prevail.

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<sup>1</sup> A circumstance that has not failed to call forth the usual sneer of Gibbon: which must, of necessity, be put down to the score of his extreme ignorance on the subject. “It was,” says he, “universally believed, that the end of the world, and the kingdom of heaven, were at hand. The near approach of this wonderful event had been predicted by the Apostles”...“the revolution of seventeen centuries has instructed us not to press too closely the mysterious language of prophecy and revelation.” *Decline and Fall, &c.* chap. xv. The first part of this is as untrue, as the last is insidious and vicious. It is to be regretted indeed, that so much folly has been grounded by Christians on the Scriptures here had in view; still, the ignorance so evinced was not greater than that of Gibbon himself; and it partook not in the vice of his.

# PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION.

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## PART III.

### ON THE PERSONAL REIGN OF CHRIST ON EARTH.

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THIS question has been shortly discussed by our Author in the following work, (pp. 278—281), and determined in the negative; which might have sufficed for us, had it not involved other considerations, which ought not to be overlooked here. For, if it be true,—as shewn above,—that *all things foretold by the Prophets*, received their fulfilment at a certain period of time; it will also be necessary to shew, that the promise of Christ's coming, so frequently mentioned in the New Testament—and of which the notion of a personal reign is only an abuse,—did actually take place within that period; and this we now propose briefly to do.

We have already seen that the Disciples inquired of our Lord, on a certain occasion, "*What shall be the sign of thy coming?*" (Matth. xxiv. 3). After warning them, as noticed by our Author, he answers, among other things, "*As the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even to the west; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be.*" (ib. ver. 27.) And again, (ver. 30), "*Then shall appear the SIGN of the Son of man in heaven: and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power, and great glory:*" and (ib. ver. 37. comp. Mark xiii. 26, 33: Luke, xxi. 27), "*As the days of Noe were, so also shall the coming of the Son of man be.*" Then follows an intimation of the destruction which is to ensue: "*Two shall be in the field; the one shall be taken, and the other left.*" It is added, "*Watch therefore: for ye know not what hour your Lord cometh.*" It should be remembered, all this is said in opposition to the notion,

that Christ shall then be found *personally*, either here or there, as Eusebius has well remarked. It should also be remembered, that this His coming was to be preceded and followed by unheard of tribulations, not only in Judea, but among all the tribes of the earth<sup>1</sup>: and that no precise time was fixed for its occurrence. It was, as in all the other cases adverted to above, to be known by the events pointed out<sup>2</sup>.

This event is again introduced in St. John (xxi. 20) in these words: "*If I will that he tarry TILL I COME, what is that to thee?*" And again, (Acts i. 11,) "*This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen Him go into heaven;*" which has tempted many to imagine, that the promised coming must also be *personal*. But, it is not necessary to suppose, that the "*like manner*," mentioned, must refer to the person of our Lord: one would rather think it would relate to *the manner* of His ascension into heaven; and this was in a cloud, attended probably, as that of Elijah was, with a chariot of fire, and a whirlwind<sup>3</sup>.

If then we may rely on this, we are brought at once to the several descriptions given of this coming, both in the Old and the New Testament. In Daniel for example, we have (chap. vii. 13, 14): "*One like the Son of man came with the CLOUDS OF HEAVEN:*"...and there was given Him dominion and glory:" which seems to identify itself with (Matth. xxiv. 30), "*They shall see (ib. the sign of) the Son of man, coming IN THE CLOUDS OF HEAVEN, with power and great glory:*" and also with (chap. xxvi. 64,) "*Hereafter shall ye see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming IN THE CLOUDS OF*

<sup>1</sup> Matth. xxiv. 5—12; 29, seq.

- Ib. ver. 33. "*So likewise ye, when ye shall see these things, know that it is near, even at the doors.*" And, ib. ver. 36: "*But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven.*" If this be the fact, then *the seventy weeks of Daniel had not defined the period chronologically*, in which these things should take place; it had only described the events—undetermined in the prediction—by which the period should be known; and this was enough.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Kings ii. 11.

heaven." And this the High Priest seems to have understood, as an intended comment on this place of Daniel.

Again, this place in Daniel is evidently referred to, in these words (Rev. i. 7.): "*Behold he cometh WITH CLOUDS; and every eye shall see (perceive, recognize) Him, and they also which pierced him: and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of Him*" (Comp. ib. xiv. 14.). Where, it should be observed, judgments and woes are had in view. And to this St. Paul appears to refer when he says (2 Thess. i. 7), "*When the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.*" And again, (ib. ii. 8.) speaking of the man of sin, he says, "*Whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth: and with the BRIGHTNESS OF HIS COMING:*" alluding to our Lord's words, that this should be as *lightning shining from the east to the west*; and, as foretold by Zechariah (chap. ix. 14.): "*The Lord shall be seen over them, and his arrows shall go forth as the lightning:*" ... "*and shall go with THE WHIRLWINDS of the south.*" Again, (in 2 Pet. iii. 5. seq.) this coming of our Lord is adverted to, and the times of the flood are taken by way of illustration, just as our Lord had before done<sup>4</sup>, in his memorable prediction. Its period is termed

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<sup>4</sup> Matth. xxiv. 39. They "*knew not until the flood came, and took them all away; so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be.*" That is, its precise period is not foretold: *the signs of its approach* only are. St. Peter (ib. ver. 10) connects this place with our Lord's prediction also by the terms, "*the Lord will come as a thief in the night* (ib. Matth. ver. 43). St. Peter also adverts to the Epistles of Paul on this subject (vv. 15, 16). The place alluded to is, apparently, 2 Tim. iii. 1. seq. "*This know also, that in THE LAST DAYS, perilous times shall come,*" &c. Then, in order to fix the times here meant, he adds, "*Of this sort are they which creep into houses* (9). "*But they shall proceed no farther,*" &c. So Jude also, as given in the text. St. Paul again, in 1 Tim. iv. 1, seq. "*Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in THE LATTER TIMES some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils... Forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats,*" &c. That the Gnostic sects generally did this, is matter of fact. Romanists, who partake to a certain extent in their errors, never did it but partially.

“*the day of the Lord,*” and,—as our Lord had also said,—it is to “*come as a thief in the night:*” the judgments to accompany it are then dwelt upon; and the descent of the new heavens and earth is enounced, for the encouragement of the Believers.

Jude again, (14.) cites a prophecy of the very early times of Enoch on this subject. “*The Lord,*” says he, “*cometh with ten thousand of his saints, to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly,*” &c. He identifies the persons meant in these words: “*These are murmurers, complainers, walking after their own lusts; and their mouth speaking great swelling words, having men’s persons in admiration because of advantage.*” He then warns them, that this had been foretold; that “*there should be mockers IN THE LAST TIME.*” “*These,*” he adds, “*be they (now, i. e. in these times) who separate themselves, sensual, having not the spirit.*”

I need only add to this, that the Book of *the Revelation*, is only a more detailed and highly figurative account of *this Revelation of Jesus Christ*; in which a very large portion of the Old Testament is brought immediately to bear upon this subject; for the purpose of shewing, among other things, that *the Testimony of Jesus, is the spirit of (all) prophecy*<sup>1</sup>. I have already remarked, that, from the beginning of the fourth chapter, to the end of this Book, we have two distinct visions, intended to depict the judgments inflicted by the Lamb on his enemies; and to declare the final, and full, establishment of His Church. Towards the close of the first vision (chap. x. 6.) it is sworn that “*there shall be time no longer:*” in other words, nothing now remains of the predictions of Holy Writ, which shall require time for its fulfilment: and this is only an echo of Daniel (chap. xii. 7.) where an oath to the same effect is sworn, declaring that, when the power of the holy people shall be scattered (abroad) “*all these things shall be finished.*” So also here (Rev. ib. ver. 7.), when the seventh Angel shall begin to sound (his trumpet) “*the mystery of God shall be finished.*” And (ib. xi. 15.) The seventh Angel sounds, and now “*the kingdoms of this*

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<sup>1</sup> Rev. xix. 10.

*world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever:*" as remarked above, exactly as Daniel had also predicted. Again, (giving the same things in a further vision, *ib.* xvi. 17.) when the seventh Angel has poured out his vial<sup>2</sup>, a voice proceeds from the Throne saying, "IT IS DONE." Some further particulars are added for the purpose apparently, of making the whole more specific; and it is repeated, (xxi. 6.) "IT IS DONE."

In chap. xxii. 5, the particulars of the last vision end, when the Evangelist adds, as instructed by the Angel, "*The Lord God of the holy prophets sent his Angel to shew unto his servants the things WHICH MUST SHORTLY BE DONE.*" And it is added, "*Behold, I COME QUICKLY:*" that is, I Jesus will shortly reveal myself in power, inflicting judgment on my adversaries, avenging the blood of my servants, and establishing for ever my kingdom. The warning that all is shortly to come to pass, is repeated in verses 10, 12, 20. To which the response of the Church is, "*Even so, COME, LORD JESUS.*"

The fact, that the Lord Jesus did so come, and this within the period fixed by Daniel, and recognized by our Lord, is certain, as well from the fall of Jerusalem, and the dispersion of the Jews taking place even within that generation, as it also is from the fall of the *heathen Dynasty of Rome*, which commenced its work of destruction and of persecution from the same period; and also, from the establishment of the Christian Church, which immediately followed. The miraculous powers granted to the Apostles for this purpose, in the first instance, and continued, as it should seem, for some time after their death, were gradually and imperceptibly withdrawn, as being no longer wanted. The ordinary aids of the Spirit were granted, and, according to the promise of our Lord, are never to be withdrawn<sup>3</sup>: these, with the helps of Holy Scripture, and the ordinances of the Church, are now sufficient, and for ever shall be, so to build up Believers

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<sup>2</sup> Where the seventh vial of his vision answers to the seventh trumpet of the preceding one.

<sup>3</sup> John xiv. 16. comp. Rom. viii. 1, seq.; 1 Cor. xii. 1—14, &c.

in their most holy faith, and to make them even Temples of the Holy Ghost, that they shall want no manner of good thing; but shall go on their way rejoicing here; be made meet to be partakers with the Saints in light, and finally be received among them.

To conclude: If the word of prophecy is *the more sure* evidence to the Believer of the truth of the hope that is in him; then, it must have been delivered in terms such as would at once be intelligible to all, and would, at the same time, set forth such facts as would be obvious, convincing, and accessible to all. And this character it certainly sustains. To notice that portion of it only, which has been brought under review in this inquiry: Four great Empires are brought before us, which are to fall in succession. The first three of these are determined by the Prophet, as shewn above: while the *last*, or *fourth*, is made too plain to admit of a doubt, that the *heathen Dynasty of Rome* was intended. Our Lord also points this out in a manner not to be misunderstood: it was that, which should set up *the abomination of desolation*; which should not leave one stone upon another in the Temple; which, according to Daniel, should destroy the City and Sanctuary; but which, in its turn, should also fall. And this again, the Author of the Book of the Revelation designates, as the Power that in his days *reigned over the Princes of the earth*: the woman sitting on *the seven hills*; in other words, on *the Beast* which had "*seven heads*," and "*ten horns*," and was seen "*drunken with the blood of the Saints*." This Power was to make *war with the Lamb*; according to Daniel, *with the Saints*; and, for a while was to prevail: but, according to both, was to be consigned *to the burning flame*, and this destruction was to be permanent.

These Horns, or Kings, are placed moreover in THE LAST PERIOD OF DAYS, OF THIS DYNASTY: let this be carefully remembered: to that THEY MUST BELONG; they cannot therefore, be assigned, without palpable violence, to any other period. In this period St. Paul looked for them, under the general appellation of *the Man of sin*; their description he took from Daniel, and their destruction he spoke of, in terms equivalent to those used

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privilege of the Church, to gather into its bosom the Jew, the Greek, the Scythian, Barbarian, bond and free ; and to do this as the Apostles did in their days, in obedience, faith, and hope<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> This was once done by the exertion of miracle, *for a testimony to all nations and to all times*. If many have fallen back since those times into heathenism, let it be remembered, the Apocalypse warned the churches of the danger of this, from the first.

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# PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION.

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## PART IV.

### ON THE RESTORATION OF THE JEWS.

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ON this question much need not be said ; for, if the events of prophecy have *all been fulfilled*, and were so fulfilled upon the establishment of the Christian Church, as already shewn, every hope of a restoration of Jews to Palestine must be groundless and futile<sup>1</sup>. Besides, it must be most incongruous to look for the temporalities of the Old Testament under the New, in which we are taught, that there is *neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision, nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free : but Christ is all, and in all*<sup>2</sup>. That neither in Jerusalem, nor on Mount Gerizim, exclusively, should the Father be worshipped<sup>3</sup>; but, that wherever there was a real spiritual child of Abraham, there should be a Temple of God the Holy Ghost<sup>4</sup>. And, let it be remembered, this was the doctrine which the Apostles themselves felt the greatest difficulty in receiving, met the greatest in its propagation, and laboured most anxiously and constantly, to preserve entire from commixture with Jewish notions.

Suppose, in the next place, the Jews were to be carried back to Palestine, and placed upon the land of their Fathers ; How, I ask, could the inheritance of the different tribes be ascertained : for this must form as

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<sup>1</sup> Be it remembered, the *Seventy weeks of Daniel were determined UPON HIS PEOPLE, and UPON HIS HOLY CITY, TO FINISH, &c.* Dan. ix. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Col. iii. 11. See also Gal. iii. 28, where all, we are told, *are one in Christ Jesus ; and if Christ's, then Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise.*

<sup>3</sup> John iv. 21—24.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17 ; vi. 19 ; 2 Cor. vi. 16.

essential a part of such restoration, as their returning can? And, again, Who shall determine the individuals constituting each particular tribe<sup>1</sup>? this being an utter impossibility to uninspired man. But, if we are to have recourse to miracle in order to effect these things, then, I say, we have recourse to that, for which Holy Scripture gives no warrant whatsoever. A new Revelation will now be as much required to give grounds for this, as will miracle to determine, either the individuals of each particular Jewish Tribe, or the place of residence each should claim in the Holy Land. Neither of which is to be expected. And again, supposing all these things possible, then I ask, by What means are individuals, and whole families, to be transported from China, Tartary, the interior of Africa, and almost every known part of

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<sup>1</sup> To "the loss of all precise" knowledge as to families and tribes among the Jews, is, I suspect, to be ascribed the Jewish figment that ten of their tribes have been entirely lost. That a remnant of all the tribes returned from Babylon is certain from the fact, that sin-offerings were offered, for all Israel, in the times of Ezra (chap. viii. 35), one apparently for every distinct tribe. Both St. Paul, and St. James too, speak in their days of twelve tribes, as then known to exist. See Acts xxvi. 7. James i. 1; and, in the latter case, converts from each of these are particularly had in view. To this the Revelation cordially responds, telling us (chap. vii. 5, seq.) that, out of each of the twelve tribes, twelve thousand were sealed; that is, a considerable number out of every tribe, was then to be collected into the Christian Church; which, this St. James seems to say, was the fact. The truth is, a very large number of the captive Jews never returned at all to Judea, but remained in Babylonia, and in the other places to which they had been carried. Hence the Rabbinic schools of Sora, Pumbeditha, &c., and hence also the Babylonian Talmud. Many of these merged, in all probability, in the heathen about them; and others became Christian. Of this latter sort a very considerable number has been found in Koordistan, by Asahel Grant, M.D. as he confidently thinks. (London: John Murray, 1841). However this may be, one thing is certain,—and this makes marvellously against his hypothesis,—that instead of the Christian Church receiving anything like *life from the dead* from these, they actually stand in need, at this moment, of both spiritual light and life from the Christian Church, as Dr. Grant himself freely confesses! This loss of the distinction of tribes is perhaps judicial; and let it be remembered, the preservation of the Jews, as a people, without this, amounts to nothing.

the world to this land of promise ; ample provision having been made for the return both from Egypt and Babylon? And, in the next place, What is to become of those who now occupy it, and who have realized a property in its lands<sup>2</sup>? And, lastly, What is there to be gained by all this? Is Christianity now so imperfect as to make this necessary, in order *that Believers may be "COMPLETE in Him<sup>3</sup>, which is the head of all principality and Power?"* If so, the Apostle has hitherto been a false witness to the Church: and the Church itself, any thing but complete in its ordinances and privileges! A conclusion which has indeed been arrived at by some of the modern interpreters of this school. I would suggest to such the propriety of asking themselves, Is not this the very sort of judaizing, against which the Apostles so strenuously laboured?

They occasionally do cite however, some places in the New Testament, which they affirm clearly foretell this state of things. And of this, Rom. xi. 26. is dwelt upon as the most clear and positive. "*And so all Israel shall be saved.*" But, Is this a prediction of any particular event<sup>4</sup>? Is it any thing more than a doctrine, declaring (ver. 23) that, "*if they abide not in unbelief, they also shall be grafted in?*" And then, after a parenthesis reasoning on the fitness of this, it is added, "*And so (better, thus, οὕτως, i. e. in this way) all Israel shall be saved:*" in exact accordance with what the same Apostle says (2 Cor. iii. 16.), "*When it shall turn to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away.*" But no where is there to be found any unconditional prediction of this.

As to the places usually cited from the Old Testament, it may be said once for all, that supposing they extend into Christian times, and beyond the limits assigned above, which I affirm is no where to be found;—

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<sup>2</sup> For this is anything but a case similar to that of the Canaanites, all being supposed, at this happy period, to have fully embraced the true religion.

<sup>3</sup> Col. ii. 10; see also ib. iv. 12.

<sup>4</sup> It should never be forgotten, that predictions, foretelling future events, are things altogether distinct and different from doctrines.

then, the interpretation of these must necessarily be so regulated, as not to run counter to Christianity, or in any way to interfere with its primary and acknowledged laws<sup>1</sup>: and these positively deny every thing like exclusive privilege to Jew, Greek, Barbarian, Scythian, bond and free. In this case then, as before, nothing short of a new Revelation, and a new Dispensation, can justify the expectation of any such things as these. Whether we are to expect any such new light, and new appointments, I leave it to others to determine. I can find no such things foretold. I conclude on this question, therefore, that no restoration of Jews, either to *temporal, or spiritual, exclusive privileges*, is to be expected: that all such expectation is groundless; and, what is worse, that it tends only to confirm Jewish prejudices, which have hitherto proved all but invincible without it; and further, that those who are so anxiously pressing it, are unwarily calling into exercise a power, more than equal to all their better efforts to the contrary. To call the Jews to a belief in Christ, is a legitimate work of Christian

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<sup>1</sup> In interpreting the Old Testament, especial care must be always taken to ascertain, what the party addressed is; i. e. whether it is the faithful, or the unfaithful one. If we do this, we shall not apply the promises to reprobates, as is very commonly done; nor shall we lose sight of that pious portion, which was found to the last among that people, and of which St. Paul spoke when he declared there was in his days, "*a remnant according to the election of grace.*" Rom. xi. 5, seq. These formed the New Church of Jerusalem, of Rome apparently, and of several other places. Of the rest, it is enough to say, that they were spiritually blinded; that they became strangers to the commonwealth of Israel, and subject to the curse of the law. Hence, threats the most grievous have been denounced against them, by Moses and all the Prophets; and, under these, they now wander and suffer. To such, no promise can be, nor is there, extended; and to neither, can any exclusive privileges be assigned; the converted Jews of the Apostles' times found none; and it must be absurd to imagine, that length of time has altered the terms and provisions of the revelation in this respect. Again, it was common under the Law, to speak of Christian times and observances, in the terms peculiarly applicable to the Law. So Isaiah's *mountain of the Lord* (chap. ii. 2), Ezekiel's temple (chap. xlvi.), and Zechariah's *Jerusalem* (viii. 22, &c.), must necessarily refer to the Christian Church, and to the Apostolic, and immediately subsequent times; and the same will be found to be true of all similar passages.

faith and love: it is that which our Lord commanded, and it is that in which the Apostles persevered to the utmost. Circumstanced as the Jews now are, *they are strangers to the covenants of promise, they are without hope, and without God in the world.* They are as branches broken off, and dissevered from the stock of Abraham<sup>2</sup>: and it is faith in the Redeemer alone, which can graff them in, and make them the spiritual seed of Abraham: the fleshly descent availing nothing whatsoever under the new Covenant. To this end it is the duty of the Christian Church to labour; and, in this work, there are the best grounds for believing, that their labour shall not be in vain.

## CONCLUSION.

‡

IF then, any reliance can be placed on what has been said above, it must appear, that the opinions of Eusebius were neither heterodox, as it regards the Divinity of our Lord, nor groundless, as to the declarations of prophecy. I may say for myself, I have examined the first of these questions with the most earnest desire of ascertaining the truth: and, in doing this, I have endeavoured to bring together such statements of Eusebius himself, as appeared to me the most likely to discover the true bent and inclinations of his mind. I have too, combined these with those of others, in which he appeared to partake, for the purpose of ascertaining to what results these actually led. Hence his Platonism, his concurrence with Philo, and his controversy with Marcellus, have been brought forward; and to this have been added, all the objections of Montfaucon and of others, which seemed to require notice: and my conclusion on the whole has been, that, Eusebius has, in no case, evinced any inclination whatever to the errors of Arius; but has, in all,—if not so frequently as some have done, yet quite as fully,—maintained *the entire and perfect Divinity, and distinct Personality, both of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* This, I think, must be the conclusion of every unprejudiced person, who takes

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<sup>2</sup> See the following work, p. 251, note.

the pains fully to enter into his modes of thinking and of speaking: as it also must, that those who have thought differently, have but partially considered this question.

As to his opinions on Prophecy, on the personal reign of Christ, and on the restoration of the Jews, I may perhaps say, proof has been given that these were well founded. It is, I think, impossible to find any questions more determinately settled and fixed in the Scriptures than these are. In the question of Prophecy, declarations the most plain and positive are so bound up with facts, the occurrence of which is well known to all, that it is impossible to conceive of any thing more plain, certain, and determinate, than this question is. Of the actual fall of the Four great Empires pointed out, no doubt can possibly exist: of the certainty of the things foretold to take place, during the *latter period* of the *last of these*, there can surely be no question; nor can there, that the extreme limit has been fixed, beyond which *they cannot* be made to pass. Again, our Lord, His Evangelist John, and His Apostles generally, connect this, beyond all possibility of doubt, with *the generation then existing*; and both these, as well as the Prophet Daniel, affirm, that, when the particular events so pointed out shall have taken place, then *all is fulfilled; the purposes of God are finished*, as declared by His Prophets, and **THE END** is come. The *Fifth kingdom* of Daniel, the *New Heaven and Earth* of Isaiah and the Apocalypse, and the *New Jerusalem* of the latter, is for ever established. All is here *plain, fixed, and determined*: no ingenious conjectures, no wire-drawn theory therefore, no double, triple, &c. interpretation, no devices turning aside the obvious import of language, are here wanted; all is plain, simple, obvious, and requiring no powers higher than those of the rustic, for its comprehension, and, for its reception, nothing beyond the simple and sincere desire of knowing the truth. And, what is perhaps best of all, it will throw a clear and steady light over the whole of the Old Testament, making its prophetic declarations as easy, and obvious, as are the doctrines of the New; and, at the same time, afford a system of evidence, in all respects irresistible. As to the other questions, just mentioned, they are so intimately

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# E R R A T A.

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Fac-simile of the MS.

Sect. 16, 17. Book I.

אמרו לנו משה  
האלהים אלהינו  
אשר יצאנו מצרים  
האלהים אלהינו  
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האלהים אלהינו

אמרו לנו משה  
האלהים אלהינו  
אשר יצאנו מצרים  
האלהים אלהינו  
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האלהים אלהינו  
האלהים אלהינו

# THEOPHANIA.

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## THE FIRST BOOK OF EUSEBIUS<sup>1</sup> OF CÆSAREA ON THE DIVINE MANIFESTATION.

1. THOSE who say on the constitution of the whole of this great and beautiful world, and on the diversified subsistence and manifold structure of the heavens and the earth, that it has neither beginning nor governour; and that there is no Lord, and no Providential care (existing); but that it has arisen of itself, casually, undesignedly, and by blind (lit. foolish) accident, however this may have happened, are altogether impious and godless<sup>2</sup>: on which account they are excluded from the divine assemblies, and with propriety shut out from our holy temples. Because, neither can they themselves possess a house without contrivance and care; nor can a ship be well constructed with its appurtenances<sup>3</sup>, without a shipwright; nor a garment be woven, without the art of weaving; nor a city

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<sup>1</sup> Our MS. reads, ܘܡܕܘܢܝܘܬܝܢ, which ought rather to be ܘܡܕܘܢܝܘܬܝܢ, or ܘܡܕܘܢܝܘܬܝܢ as generally printed by Asseman, and as it often appears in the MSS.

<sup>2</sup> “Cujus sententiæ,” says Lactantius, de falsa religione, Lib. i. cap. ii., “auctor est Democritus, confirmator Epicurus, sed et antea Protagoras, qui Deos in dubium vocavit; et postea Diagoras, qui exclusit,” &c. These are the Atheists, *ἄθεοι*, of the ancients, on whom some excellent remarks from Plato’s xth Book of Laws will be found quoted, Pref. Evang. Lib. XII. cap. 1. p. 621. Edit. 1628.—But more on this subject when we come to our second Book. It does not appear that this exclusion took place, except at the celebration of the Lord’s supper.

<sup>3</sup> Syr. ܘܡܕܘܢܝܘܬܝܢ. This word is not found in the Lexicons; but, as it is evidently derived from the same root as ܘܡܕܘܢܝܘܬܝܢ, *ship*, is, I take it for granted that something connected with a ship must be meant. In the Arabic, too, we have سفينة, *navis*, سفانة, *naupegia*, and سفان, *naupegus*. Syr. ܘܡܕܘܢܝܘܬܝܢ. Castell gives ܘܡܕܘܢܝܘܬܝܢ, *nauta*;



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5. For it was impossible that this perishable being of bodies, and this Nature of reasonable creatures (such) as it now is, could be brought near to God the Governour of all, on account of its exceedingly great imperfection. For He is an Essence beyond and above all, which can neither be described, comprehended, nor approached; and (which) dwells in the glorious light, to which nothing can be compared,—as the Divine words declare<sup>1</sup>. For this had no existence, and out of nothing did He send it forth. And (hence) it was greatly different, and very far removed, from the nature of (His) Essence. Well therefore did He, the fulness of all good, the God of all, first appoint a Mediator<sup>2</sup>, the Divine Power, HIS ONLY (begotten), who should be sufficient for all<sup>3</sup>; who could accurately, abundantly, and as present, hold converse with His Father<sup>4</sup>, receive of His inward and secret (nature), and be meekly lowered to the form and manner of those who were (so) far removed from His princely state. In no

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“patre genitus, et ratio ex rationali potentia, hominem immortalitatis imaginem fecit ad imitationem sui genitoris.” John i. 1. seqq. is evidently the Scripture had principally in view here, just as it is again and again in our Author. Euseb. Orat. de laudd. Constant. cap. i. p. 501. B. “ο δη και ανωθεν εξ αληκτου και αναρχου θεοτητος αναβλυστανον, εξω προεισι” κ. τ. λ. “Quæque (i. e. lux) supernè ex divinitate principii ac finis experte emanans, extrà procedit,” &c. To the same effect Lactantius, Lib. ii. cap. vii. and again very fully, Lib. iv. cap. vi. seq. Theophilus ad Autolyicum, Lib. ii. p. 119. Ed. 1624. it. ib. p. 128. Clemens. Alexandr. Admonit. ad Gentes, p. 5, it. Strom. Lib. vii. p. 703. Ed. 1629; and our Author in his work against Marcellus, Lib. i. cap. i. p. 3. B. seq. See also Sect. 23, below.

<sup>1</sup> Alluding to 1 Tim. vi. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Our Author argues in his tract against Marcellus, pp. 8, 9, that even before the incarnation, Christ was a Mediator between God and the angels, and this he grounds on Gal. iii. 19,—“*ordained by angels in the hand of a Mediator.*” His words are: “και ένα τον μεσίτην του Θεου και Αγγέλων.” He has misunderstood the Scripture here.

<sup>3</sup> This sentence is not found in the Greek, Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 525. B. See the note of Valesius on this place. It is, however, in the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. vi. p. 155.

<sup>4</sup> Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. vii. p. 706.—“προσομιλεῖν τῷ Θεῷ οὐκ οὐκ του μεγαλου αρχιερως.” See also Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. vi. p. 154. C.

other way could it be either glorious or right, that He, who is beyond and above all, should be mixed up with matter that is perishable, and with a body. On this account, the DIVINE WORD entered by a (sort) of commixture into this whole, and bound together the bands (as it were) of all things<sup>5</sup>, by means of the Divine power which is incorporeal: leading on and carrying forward<sup>6</sup>, and governing (the whole) by every species of wisdom, as it seemed good to Him.

6. The proof<sup>7</sup> then, of this conclusion is obvious. For, if those which we usually term the primary elements of all,—the earth, water, air, and fire, were themselves the constituent portions of the universe, and are constituted of a mixed<sup>8</sup> nature, which we even see with our eyes is the case,—and, if the essence of all were one, and that comprehending the whole, and were (as) the Mother and Nurse (of all these things), as those who are subtle in these matters love to term it; and were without figure and visibility, and wholly destitute of soul and of reason;—Whence, one may ask, was it, that this world<sup>9</sup> was made to consist of that of which it now does? Whence also the distinction of the (several) elements? And whence the

<sup>5</sup> This whole sentence is erroneously translated in the Latin, thus: “sumptis in manus habenis totius mundi:” the Greek being, “και τας ἡνίας (malè ἡνίας) τοῦ παντὸς ἐνδησάμενος.” The Syriac is correct, and stands thus: ܕܟܝܢܘܢ ܡܡܡܘܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ. It was not necessary to suppose that ἡνία must signify a bridle: both it, and the Syriac ܕܟܝܢܘܢ, meaning any strap, thong, or the like, by which any thing is tied or bound together, as well as *bridle*.

<sup>6</sup> The Greek, ἄγει καὶ φέρει, is literally translated by the Syriac here, ܕܡܡܘܢ ܕܡܡܘܢ. Our translator has, in like manner, rendered the Greek ἡμιοχῶν, by ܕܟܝܢܘܢ, governour, not “*auriga*,” as in the Latin.

<sup>7</sup> De laudd. Constant. ib. p. 525. C.

<sup>8</sup> The Greek has here, “ἐξ ἀλογου συνεστηκε φύσεως:” the Syriac, ܕܡܡܘܢ ܕܡܡܘܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ, which I have translated literally.

<sup>9</sup> The Greek is (l. c.) “ποθεν ἄν εἴποι τις τον εν αυτη κοσμον ἐνυπάρχειν αὐτῇ.” Lat. trans. “unde ornatum ei inesse quis dixerit.” Our Syriac, ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ. Where he was, perhaps, wrong in taking *τον κοσμον* to signify the world, rather than *beauty*, *order*, or the like.

concordant course of those things which were adverse to agreement? And, Who commanded this heavy element of earth, to ride over that of humid matter<sup>1</sup>?

7. And, Who is He that has caused water, the nature of which is to run downwards, to take an opposite course, and to ascend to the clouds?

8. And, Who is He that has so constrained the power of fire, that it shall insinuate itself into wood? and has made it to mix itself up with things which are in their natures opposed to it?

9. And, Who has attempered this cold air with the power of heat; has released these from their (natural) contentions with one another, and has reconciled them (as it were) to love?

10. Who is He that has distinguished the race subject to mortality with the character of extension, and drawn it out to the length of the life which is immortal?

11. Who is He that has so formed the Male, fashioned the Female, and associated them both as one compound, and (thus) discovered one source of generation for all animal life?

12. Who is He that changes this fluent generating seed from its fluid, perishing, and senseless state, and makes it (that) of the generation of animal life?

13. Who is He that performs even to this time all these things, and innumerable others beyond them, and which exceed all wonder and astonishment?

14. Who is He that daily and hourly, secretly and by a power that is invisible, effects the generation and changes of these things?

15. But, the efficient Cause of all things is justly said to be that worker of miracles<sup>3</sup>, THE WORD OF GOD. For THE WORD OF GOD who is Almighty, has in truth

<sup>1</sup> See our Author's Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. ii. p. 151. B.

<sup>2</sup> Gr. laudd. Const. ib. p. 526. A. "γενέσεις και ωρας. Lat. trans. "generationes et corruptiones." Not very exact. The Syriac better, ܪܘܫܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ.

<sup>3</sup> Gr. ib. p. 526. A. "ὁ παραδοξοποιὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος." Lat. trans. malè, "admirabilis Dei sermo." Syr. melius. ܪܘܫܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ.

extended himself into every thing: above into the heights, and beneath into the depths, has He drawn out His incorporeal soul. He also holds, as it were in His hands, the breadth and length of all in (its) extent. This whole has He brought, and bound up together<sup>4</sup>; and has (thus) set up for himself this (immense) vessel filled with every sort of compound<sup>5</sup>. He too, by every species of wisdom, and by means of the power which is rational, has made well to combine and to harmonize, according to their several measures, this essence of bodies destitute of reason, form, and visibility; governing by words unutterable, and directing for the advantage of all<sup>6</sup>, the Sun, the Moon, and those (other) luminaries that are in the heavens.

16. This selfsame WORD OF GOD too brought himself down also upon the earth, and (there) set up all the various kinds of animals, and every beautiful form of plant.

17. This selfsame WORD OF GOD also immersed<sup>8</sup> even into the depths of the sea<sup>9</sup>, and determined those swimming natures: and here again he made the myriads of forms which are innumerable, with every various kind of living creature.

18. The selfsame also completes, by the effectuating art of nature<sup>10</sup>, those (beings) which are inwardly con-

<sup>4</sup> Syr. ܦܫܦ, a verb not found in the dictionaries: but, as it must be cognate with ܦܫܦ, Acts xxvii. 17, and with the Chald. ܦܫܦ, there cannot be much doubt as to its meaning.

<sup>5</sup> Gr. “ὄργανόν τε τούτω παναρμόμιον αὐτὸς ἑαυτῶ ξυμπηξάμενος.” To the same effect Clemens Alexand., Lib. vii. p. 704. A. seq.

<sup>6</sup> Alluding to Job xxxvii. 7. See my Translation and Notes.

<sup>7</sup> Gr. ib. B. “πολυμορφα καλλη συνεστήσατο.” “Lat. multiplices plantarum species produxit.” Minus exactè. Syr. meliùs. ܘܠܥܘܕܘܢ ܘܠܥܘܕܘܢ ܘܠܥܘܕܘܢ.

<sup>8</sup> Syr. ܦܫܦ. This is one of those cases, in which a verb takes a new sense from a metonymical use of it in the first instance. It is taken to signify *baptizing*, because *baptism* and *confirmation* are administered at the same time in the East. And as it is so taken to signify *baptizing*, so it is subsequently to imply *immersion*.

<sup>9</sup> Alluding to Job xxxviii. 16.

<sup>10</sup> Syr. ܘܠܥܘܕܘܢ ܘܠܥܘܕܘܢ ܘܠܥܘܕܘܢ lit. by the artifice of nature. Gr. ib. B. ἐν τῷ τῆς φύσεως ἐργαστηρίῳ τελεσιουργῶν. Lat. trans. “in ipsa naturæ officina perficiens.”

ceived in the womb, and forms (them) into animals. The same too makes to ascend to the heights as light, this humid, heavy, and naturally descending, matter (of sea-water<sup>1</sup>), and thus, completing the course of his government, changes it to sweetness, and brings it (again) in due measure, and at determined seasons, upon the earth: and, like the excellent husbandman who waters his land well, and attempers the wet with the dry, he changes (things) into every sort of form: at one time, into beautiful flowers; at another, into the forms peculiar to each species; at another, into delightful scents<sup>2</sup>; at another, into different and diversified sorts of fruits; at another, into every kind of taste which gives pleasure.

19. But<sup>3</sup> why need I take upon myself to discuss the powers of THE WORD OF GOD? or, venture upon a thing, the doing of which is impossible, and, it is clear, greatly surpasses all mortal mind?

20. Others indeed name this same (Being) Universal nature; others, the Universal soul; others, Fate<sup>4</sup>; and others say, that He is the God who is beyond all<sup>5</sup>. But, I know not how they confound together the things, which are so greatly and widely different; and (thus) cast down to the earth, and mix up, that Governour of all, that Power of (eternal) existence which is above all, with bodies, (and)

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<sup>1</sup> It is evident, from what follows here, that the sea-water is meant: for, in no other case, can we suppose the water spoken of to be changed into sweetness. Syr. . ܦܘܨܘܢܐ ܕܝܘܨܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܢܐ. This argument is also beautifully and powerfully urged by Theodoret. Serm. de Provid. i. Tom. iv. p. 330. C., where it is said to be the θαλάττιον ὕδωρ, *sea-water*, which is so changed, “εἰς γλυκεῖαν μεταβάλλων ποιότητα.”—Copied probably from this very place of our Author.

<sup>2</sup> Syr. ܦܘܨܘܢܐ, for ܦܘܨܘܢܐ, the ܐ Iod being often omitted; as in ܦܘܨܐ, for ܦܘܨܐ, &c. The Greek has “ὄσμαῖς ἠδέλαις.”

<sup>3</sup> Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 526. C. D.

<sup>4</sup> Gr. ib. εἰμαρμένην: Syr. ܦܘܨܘܢܐ.

<sup>5</sup> Gr. τὸν ἐπέκεινα τῶν ὄλων. So Euclides of Megara, (Diog. Laërt. in his life) “οὗτος ἐν το ἀγαθον ἀπεφαινετο πολλοῖς ὀνομασι καλούμενον. ὅτῃ μὲν γὰρ φρόνησις, ὅτῃ δὲ θεὸν, καὶ ἄλλοτε νοῦν, καὶ τὰ λοιπά.”

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23. He therefore, *by whom* are all things, THE WORD OF GOD, proceeded forth from above, from His good Father, as a river ever flowing from an unlimited fountain, and distilling as rain<sup>1</sup>, in words unutterable, to those who were perishing, completely furnished for the common salvation of all. And, as in the case with ourselves, that secret and invisible mind which is within us, no man ever knew, either how, or why, it exists in its own essential character, but (which) sits as a king within the secrecy of its chambers, and considers of the things to be done; so the only word then proceeding from it, begotten as it were of a Father in the privacy of retirement, and being the primary angel (messenger) to all, of the mind of its Father, openly publishes those things which its father considered in secret; and, passing on into the hearing of all, brings to full effect the will (so made known). These (hearers) then receive the benefit of the word, while the secret and invisible mind, this father of (such) word, no one had ever seen with the eyes. So also,—that is, (in a manner) surpassing all examples and comparisons, that completing WORD OF GOD, the King of all,—was, as being the only (begotten) Son of His Father, established, not by any mere emanating virtue; nor constituted in his nature by the enunciation of names and words; nor designated by any sound produced by the percussion of the air: but THE WORD is living, and is the minister<sup>3</sup> of God who is

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<sup>1</sup> Gr. ib. ἀνομβρῶν λόγος ἄρρητος: which the Latin translator has entirely omitted. Valesius, however, remarks that ἀνομβρῶν λόγοις ἀρρητοῖς, must be the true reading; and this our translator confirms by giving ⲉⲓⲗⲉ ⲛⲓ ⲛⲓⲥⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲥⲟⲩ. See also Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. vii. p. 702. A. seq. Edit. 1629; also Orat. de laudd. Constant. cap. xiii. p. 531. D.

<sup>2</sup> So also our Author against Marcellus, Lib. i. p. 5. D. See also the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iii. cap. iii. p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> The Syr. has here ⲛⲓⲥⲟⲩⲛⲓⲥⲟⲩ, Lit. *Performer, agent*. Castell gives *Episcopus* as the meaning of this word. I could not find a better term than *Minister*, to express our Author's meaning.

over all, and in His essence<sup>4</sup>, He is “*the Power of God, and the Wisdom of God.*” He proceeds moreover from the Godhead and rule of His Father; and is the<sup>5</sup> good offspring of the good Father, and the common Saviour of all. He also waters all, pouring out from his own fulness upon all, life, and reason, and wisdom, and light, and every good thing. He waters too, not only the things that are before Him and near Him, but those also that are removed far away on the earth, and in the sea; and if there be any other creature, in any thing that exists. He too keeps in order, by His justice and the power of His rule, every border, place, law, and possession: to each and every thing does He distribute and give that which is suitable: apportioning (this) to some who are in the sphere above the world; to others, who reside in the heavens; to others, whose habitation is the æther; to others, that are in the air; and to others, on the earth. Then passing on from these, He again well distinguishes, in other quarters, the lives of all; carrying forward with due discrimination, their customs and various observances. He also provides the food for the animals<sup>6</sup>, not only for those that are rational, but also for those that are not so: (and this) for the advantage of those that are.

24. To some he gives the comforts of a mortal<sup>7</sup> and temporary life; to others, that they may partake of immortality: and of every thing, as THE WORD OF GOD, is He the Doer. And, being near to every thing, and

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<sup>4</sup> Gr. “κατ’ οὐσίαν τε ὑφ’ ἑστῶς οἶα θεοῦ δύναμις, κ.τ.λ. ib. p. 527. D. The Syr. here, also confirms the emendation of Valesius, as το τα συμπαντα ζωα.” ib. The Latin translation is here inaccurate, in “ac personaliter subsistens.”

<sup>5</sup> So Didymus on the Holy Spirit, as preserved in the works of Jerome: “Bonus Dominus noster Jesus Christus ex bono Patre generatus est.”

<sup>6</sup> Syr. ܠܚܝܘܬܐ ܕܥܡܢܐ Lit. life of provisions, by an Hypallage, for ܠܚܝܘܬܐ ܕܥܡܢܐ. Gr. ζωῆς τε καὶ τροφῆς; which would suggest that ܠܚܝܘܬܐ ܕܥܡܢܐ, was the original reading.

<sup>7</sup> Gr. καὶ τοῖς μὲν θνητοῖς, κ.τ.λ. which Valesius emends thus: καὶ τοῖς μὲν θνητῆς. κ.τ.λ. and which our Syriac confirms.

pervading all with a power which is rational, and, looking up to His Father, He governs the things that are below according to His intimations, and after Him<sup>1</sup> accordingly as the Saviour of all. And thus, mediating and bringing near to the (eternal) Being this essence of things, He constitutes the bond which cannot be severed. THE WORD OF GOD (I say), which is in the midst, which binds together those which are diverse, and suffers them not to fall off (and) away, He is the Providential care which is watchful over all, He is the Director of all: He is “*the Power of God, and the wisdom of God*”<sup>2</sup>: He is the only (begotten) Son of God; the God which is begotten of God<sup>3</sup>, THE WORD. For, “*In the beginning was THE WORD, and THE WORD was with God, and THE WORD was God. Every thing was by Him, and without Him was not any thing*”<sup>4</sup>:—the glorious words of the divine men (so) teaching.

25. This is the common Saviour<sup>5</sup> of all, on whose account this universal essence is productive, and rejoices that it ever drinks from his dewdrops<sup>6</sup>; is always youthful in its stature, and ever presents the appearance of beauty. He therefore holds its reins, and, at the intimations of His Father, rightly guides the mighty ship of this universe,

<sup>1</sup> Gr. Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 528. ib. καὶ μετ’ αὐτὸν ἀκολουθῶς, κ.τ.λ., which the Latin makes, “et post se ipsum orta:” which is a comment, and that not a very correct one. Our Syriac renders the place quite literally by ܐܠܘܗܐ ܨܝܕܘܘ: not favourably to the emendation of Valesius.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. i. 24, cited also Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. v. p. 151. D.

<sup>3</sup> Gr. “οὗτος μονογενὴς θεός, ἐκ θεοῦ γεγεννημένος λόγος.” Our translator seems to have read this last clause thus, ὁ θεὸς ἐκ θεοῦ γεγεννημένος, ὁ λόγος. Syr. ܐܠܘܗܐ ܨܝܕܘܘ ܨܝܕܘܘ ܨܝܕܘܘ. In our Author’s letter, as preserved by Theodoret, the words are, ... “τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον, θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ.” κ.τ.λ. so also in the Nicene Creed, followed by “φῶς ἐκ φωτός, θεὸν ἀληθινόν, ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ. Tom. III. pp. 553, 554. Ed. 1642.

<sup>4</sup> John i. 1. cited also Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. v. p. 150. C. &c.

<sup>5</sup> Gr. laudd. Constant. ib. C. φυτουργός. Planter.

<sup>6</sup> Alluding to the distilling of rain, above, Sect. 23.

(and) with His own helm<sup>7</sup> He governs it. This (Being) excellent of art<sup>8</sup>, did He who is God above all, as a good Father beget as good Fruit', the ONLY (begotten) SON, and give (him) to this world (as) a most excellent gift; did cast as a Soul into a body destitute of soul<sup>10</sup>, and into the nature of irrational bodies, His own rational WORD: and (so), by virtue of the DIVINE WORD, did He both enlighten and enliven this (otherwise) shapeless, unsightly<sup>11</sup> and colourless, being (Syr. ܠܡܘܠܐ. Gr. *ουσια*):—by Him, (I say) whom we ought, both to know and to worship<sup>12</sup>, as being ever near to the matter and elements, of (all) bodies. Thus, that which was immaterial, bodiless, and unconscious (lit. unwise), became, as from others, endued with consciousness (lit. became wise). But He is THE LIFE, and He is THE LIGHT; the intelligent offspring of THE LIGHT which cannot be described. He too, is ONE in His Essence, even as He is

<sup>7</sup> Gr. *πηδακιουχῶν*. which the Latin translator has omitted to express. Syr. ܠܣܘܐܝܕܘܡܘܘܢ.

<sup>8</sup> Gr. *τοιούτου καλλιτέχνην υἱὸν*. κ.τ.λ.

<sup>9</sup> The Syriac here confirms the emendation of Valesius, which stands thus, ܠܡܘܠܐ ܠܒܘܘܬܐ ܠܒܘܘܬܐ ܠܡܘܠܐ. Valesius: *οἶα πατήρ ἀγαθὸς, ἀγαθὸν ἀπογενήσας καρπὸν*. See Sect. 23, note from Didymus, and the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. ii. p. 146. B.

<sup>10</sup> Here again, our Syriac favours the conjecture of Valesius, thus, ܠܡܘܠܐ ܠܡܘܠܐ ܠܡܘܠܐ. Valesius, *ἀτε ψυχὴν σωματι ἀψυχῶ*. κ.τ.λ.

<sup>11</sup> The Syriac has here, ܠܡܘܠܐ ܠܡܘܠܐ, Gr. *ἀνείδεον*, which, however, the Latin translator has omitted. So Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. vii. p. 702. Ed. 1629, makes Christ the giver of all wisdom to the Greeks.

<sup>12</sup> Gr. *καὶ σκεπτέων*. Syr. ܠܡܘܠܐ ܠܡܘܠܐ. The Greek is here probably wrong: it has too, a slight addition. See also the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. v. p. 150. C. Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 528. It may be remarked here generally that, as *λογος* is taken to signify *reason*, we have many allusions to this in this work and elsewhere, where Christ is spoken of under the title of the WORD; intimating that He is the source of every thing that is *rational*. So Clemens Alexand. Admon. ad. Gentes, p. 62. B. Ed. 1629, “*ἡ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰκὼν, ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ. καὶ υἱὸς τοῦ νοῦ γνησιος, ὁ θεῖος λόγος, φῶς*” “*ἀρχέ-*



cess of reasoning, and then affirm on this one man, that these (portions) really were many men: he would deserve nothing better of the wise, than the ridicule due to folly. Such as this man would be, would he likewise be who fabricated for himself many Gods out of the (constituent) parts of the one Universe, and would sever into many sections those Bodies of all, whose nature is fleeting and dispersive, and which are fabricated out of one primary material; and then again, would by an effort of reason make these his Gods<sup>3</sup>.

27. Much<sup>1</sup> worse than this would he be, who would also imagine that this entirely made world,—constituted as it is wholly and altogether of many parts,—is God: not considering that the Divine nature could never subsist of parts or be complex, or could stand in need of some other to compound it: nor again, that if it consisted of parts, could it be Divine. For, How can it consist of things different and dissimilar, faulty and excellent? Because that which is compounded, must also be dissoluble; and that which consists of many parts, is of necessity dissimilar<sup>5</sup>: while that which is equal in all and unchanging in all, is simple and incomplex. That too which is complex, is compounded of things dissimilar. And that which is dissimilar has in itself something faulty, opposed to that which is excellent<sup>6</sup>. For if the whole were excellent, it would (then) be equal and similar. And, if it were so in the whole, it would in the whole be consistent with itself: and thus would it be in essence simple,

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<sup>3</sup> This is imitated very beautifully by Theodoret in his first Sermon on Providence, near its commencement.

<sup>4</sup> Our Syriac does not exactly follow the Greek (Orat. de laudd. Constant.) here.

<sup>5</sup> Anaxagoras imagined that the origin of all things consisted of *similar* parts. (Plutarch, p. 876. Vol. II. Edit. 1620.). His theory is manifestly taken from the Bible. He says, Ὁμοῦ πάντα χρήματα ἦν, νοῦς δὲ αὐτὰ διήρξε, καὶ διεκόσμησε. *All things were (confused) together: but MIND divided and adorned them: i. e. the "Spirit" of the Bible.* Zeno too, according to Aristotle, argued thus, (cited at § 30. infra.)

<sup>6</sup> We have some things here not given in the Greek, (Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 529. B.)—This argument is briefly urged by Anaxagoras, Legat. pro Christianis, p. 55. Edit. 1624.

and without parts. But this nature (of things) does not shew itself to be such, since this world is viewed as wholly subject to sense: for it is constituted of many parts, and is (therefore) compounded; it is too, in many of its parts, changing. And where it is thus, there is also the capability of a nature of an opposite description. And hence this world associates beings, at once both mortal and immortal, rational and irrational; in matter too, both cold and hot; wet and dry. From all which, God is (necessarily) free. For, if the nature of God be simple, it is also without parts, and is uncompounded<sup>1</sup>; (placed) beyond, and far removed from, every ordinance of this visible world. On this account the Preacher of Truth thus openly says: “*The Word of God proclaimed, He who is before all, is alone the Saviour of all rational beings*”<sup>2</sup>.” But God who is beyond all, is the head (source) of the generation of THE WORD. He alone is the Cause of all; and, of His ONLY (begotten) WORD, He is truly styled THE FATHER. Above Him therefore, no other Cause can be assigned. He therefore is God alone<sup>3</sup>; and from Him proceeded forth, by (virtue of) His own secret will which is unutterable, the ONLY (begotten), the Saviour of all, the ONE WORD of God, who (is) through all<sup>4</sup>.

28. This sensible world is therefore, not unlike the lyre of many strings, consisting of many dissimilar portions:

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<sup>1</sup> Our text here exceeds that of the Orat. de laud. Constant.

<sup>2</sup> This, according to Valesius (Notes on the place, p. 254—5), is nothing more than a paraphractical interpretation of John i. 1. adduced above, sect. 24.

<sup>3</sup> It may perhaps be supposed that our author shews his Arian propensity here. But the same might be said of Justin Martyr, and, indeed, of the Fathers generally, if this were allowed. See Whitby on Eph. iv. 6. and the note on Book ii. sect. 3. below.

<sup>4</sup> Syr. ܐܘܢ ܕܘܢܐܢܐ. Gr. ὁ διὰ πάντων. The Latin has, “*per cuncta permanans*.” This phrase occurs in the N. Test. (Eph. iv. 6, alluded to probably here), and is usually taken as signifying *through*, i.e. permeating; or the like. Theodoret appears to have had the same feeling on this passage; for he says, το δε “διὰ πάντων” την πρόνοιαν, i.e. by διὰ πάντων, he points out *the Providence* (of God): in other words, his care for all. The Syriac Peschito, and Philoxenian N. T., render the passage (Eph. iv. 6.) by the same Syriac phrase.

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other hand<sup>3</sup> an Effectuator, and that sufficient for all? But nothing which is born of God is incomplete. The only (begotten) of God is therefore complete (the Efficient). Nor are there many WORDS OF GOD. On the contrary, THE GOD who IS OF GOD is sufficient for all, and is Almighty; is the one Image of the light of His Essence<sup>4</sup>, as the divine words declare; who, for the convenience of governing and healing all existing beings, was necessarily appointed; who is also in His essence one, but in His powers manifold. And Him alone do we declare to be sufficient for the adorning of all things.

31. Because too, there is in man (but) one Soul and one reasoning faculty, and this at the same time capable of comprehending<sup>5</sup> many things; whether (for example), it cultivate the earth, or fit up a ship, or guide it, or build<sup>6</sup> (a house), still it is one and the same: or, whether it learn and do many things, still there is but one mind and cogitative faculty in man. It is moreover capable at once of many sorts of knowledge: the same man will be the geometrician, or will be skilled in the courses of the stars, or be perfect in the precepts of the grammarians and rhetoricians<sup>7</sup>; or, he will become a leader in the science of healing, or in its manual operations. Nor has any one ever yet imagined, that there are many souls in (any) one body: neither has it been made matter of wonder, that there exists many essences<sup>8</sup> in man, because of his ca-

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<sup>3</sup> As this place is obscure, I give the Syriac which stands thus: ܘܕܢ ܘܥܡܘܢ ܝܘܨܘܒܘܘ ܘܥܒܘܕܘ ܝܘܨܘܒܘܘ. The Greek of this passage does not occur in the Orat. de laudd. Constant. nor any part of it from the words "His Father," &c. above.

<sup>4</sup> Heb. i. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Syr. ܝܘܨܘܒܘܘ. Gr. δημιουργός. Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 531. B. The passage also occurs in the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. v. p. 151. D. seq. Edit. 1628.

<sup>6</sup> Gr. ἡ αὐτὴ καὶ ναυπηγεῖν, καὶ κυβερνᾶν, καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν. Our text has probably lost the term ܝܘܨܘܒܘܘ here.

<sup>7</sup> Our Syriac here observes a different interpunctuation from that of the Gr. Demonstr. Evang. ib.

<sup>8</sup> Syr. ܡܘܬܘܒܘܘܝܢ. Gr. οὐσίας. Lat. trans. "substantias," malè. The essences here meant are *intelligent* as being of various sorts; not that of *mutter*, as derived from the earth.

pability of many sorts of knowledge. For, should a man find a shapeless piece of clay, and afterwards so model it with his hands, as to impress upon it the forms of certain animals; on one figure, the head; on another, the hands, the feet, or the eyes (of a man); and again, that he otherwise imitate by the art of the modeller, the cheeks, ears, mouth, nostrils, breast, and shoulders, Would it be right also to suppose that, because many forms and members had been (so) wrought in this one body, many were therefore their makers<sup>1</sup>? We ought rather to bestow the full meed of praise on the one artificer of the whole, who had by one train of thought, and the exertion of one executive power, (so) disposed the whole:—

32. So also, of this universal world which is one<sup>2</sup>, consisting nevertheless of many parts, it cannot be right to erect the many powers (visible within it) into makers; nor again to call these many Gods: but rather, to bless the ONE who abounds in every species of wisdom, and every sort of compounding<sup>3</sup> (power): Him (I say) who is in truth “THE POWER OF GOD, and THE WISDOM OF GOD;” who, by means of one (almighty) power and virtue, pervades, and remains in, the universal whole<sup>4</sup>; who also gives establishment and life to all: and who, for the whole and singular of

<sup>1</sup> The Syr. ܐܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ may here be read either ܐܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ, or ܐܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ. The first would make the sentence interrogatory, as I have translated it; the second would make it a direct negation: either of which supplies the true force to the place. The following ܐܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ, however, seems to require the former. The Gr. reads the former; *χρή*.

<sup>2</sup> So Plato as cited. Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xiii. from the *Timæus*.

<sup>3</sup> Gr. *παναρμονιον*. Ib. p. 530. D. Syr. ܐܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ. In this, as in many other instances, the poverty of the Syriac language is too apparent not to be felt. By *compounds*, or *compositions*, is necessarily meant here, such things as agreeing together, may be considered as constituting a sort of harmony, in opposition to the “*faulty and excellent*,” mentioned above, sect. 27. See also sect. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Syr. ܕܥܘܠܡܐ. Gr. *θεολογεῖν*. Our translator probably read *ὁμολογεῖν* here. This occurs again (Prep. Evang. Lib. iii. cap. xiii. p. 118. D.), and there has *θεολογεῖν*. Which is translated by “*Divino nomine celebrare*.” Nevertheless *ὁμολογεῖν* occurs, Demonstr. Evan. Lib. iv. cap. v. p. 152. B.

these bodies and elements, in their several situations, produced at once from himself, the several and various means of subsistence<sup>5</sup>.

33. So also the light of the Sun is one; yet, by its one incidence, it at once illuminates the air, affords light to the eyes, warmth to the touch, ripens the (produce of) the earth, gives growth to the plant, and fixes the several periods of time. It also precedes the stars (in its course), makes the circuit of the heavens, rises upon the world<sup>6</sup>, and clearly establishes the power of God with respect to all things<sup>7</sup>. All these things it completes in a momentary period<sup>8</sup> of nature. Thus too, the nature of fire (is such) as to purify gold, to melt lead, to dissolve wax<sup>9</sup>, to dry (wet) clay, and to consume dense (bodies): by means of one burning power, it effects all these things.

34. So likewise THE WORD OF GOD, the King of all, He who is extended throughout all<sup>10</sup>, is in and pervades all, that is both in the heavens and the earth; He is the governour of the things which are invisible and visible, and He directs by powers unspeakable<sup>11</sup>, the Sun, the Heavens,

<sup>5</sup> Syr. ܡܢ ܕܥܡܢܐ, occurs in Castell, but without any meaning attached to it. Gr. (Orat. de laudd. Constant. Ib. p. 531. A.) *χορηγίαν*.

<sup>6</sup> This last sentence is not found in the Greek.

<sup>7</sup> Alluding to Ps. xix. 4—6.

<sup>8</sup> Gr. *ροπή*. Syr. ܕܥܡܢܐ. Minutum, scrupulum horarium.

<sup>9</sup> Syr. ܕܥܡܢܐ. Gr. *κηρόν*. This also occurs, Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. v. p. 152. C.D. and Theod. Serm. i. de Provid. l. c.

<sup>10</sup> Syr. ܕܥܡܢܐ ܕܥܡܢܐ ܕܥܡܢܐ ܕܥܡܢܐ ܕܥܡܢܐ, is in the Greek (laudd. Constant. p. 531. A.B. and Demonstr. Evang. p. 152. C.) *ο δια πάντων ἤκων*. Which is much the same with, *δια πάντων χωρῶν*, Syr. ܕܥܡܢܐ ܕܥܡܢܐ ܕܥܡܢܐ ܕܥܡܢܐ ܕܥܡܢܐ, a little lower down. By ܕܥܡܢܐ ܕܥܡܢܐ, therefore our translator intends to express the Greek *δια πάντων*: as remarked above, p. 18. note.

<sup>11</sup> *ἀρρήτοις δυνάμεσι*: and so our Syriac ܕܥܡܢܐ ܕܥܡܢܐ ܕܥܡܢܐ ܕܥܡܢܐ ܕܥܡܢܐ, Valesius's emendation (p. 255.), therefore, which proposes *ἀρρητων λόγων δυνάμεσι*, is not here countenanced. So Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. vii. p. 711. “*οὕτως ὁ λόγος πάντη κεχυμένος, καὶ τὰ σμικρότατα τῶν τοῦ βίου πράξεων ἐπιβλέπει.*” “*ita Verbum undiquaque effusum vel minima respicit ex iis quæ in vita geruntur.*”

and the whole Universe. He is present to all things in His effectuating power; and He remains throughout all. He also makes to distil as rain, from His own resources, the never-failing light to the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars. He has established, and perpetually holds fast, the heavens (as) an image of his own greatness. He also fills from the treasury that is with Him, those hosts of Angels and Powers of intelligent and rational spirits, at once with life, light, wisdom, and all the abundance of every species of beauty and of goodness. And by one and the same effectuating art, He never fails to supply substance<sup>1</sup> to the material elements, and to Bodies (their) commixture and concurrence; (their) forms, appearances, and characters. He otherwise varies also and time after time, (His) innumerable operations, (whether) in the animals, the plants, or in the beings rational or irrational: at once He provides every thing for all, by (His) one power; and clearly shews, (that this) is not a mere Lyre (as it were) of seven or many strings, but is the one universe of manifold composition, the workmanship of the ONE WORD, the Maker of the world<sup>2</sup>.

35. Such therefore, is the common Saviour of all, THE WORD OF THE GOD of all, of whom one discoursing on God<sup>3</sup> thus mysteriously speaks: “*He<sup>4</sup> was in the world, and the world was (made) by Him; and the world knew Him not.*” For, from ancient times (and) hitherto, it knew Him not, until He manifested Himself, in the latter times, to those who were holden in the darkness of vice. But He, the Maker of the whole world, He, who is the common Saviour of all, has been directly made known to us, as thus existing; and as affording to this whole, all this assistance. But, as to this whole world which is

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<sup>1</sup> Gr. οὐσίαν. Syr. ܘܫܝܢܐ. Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. v. p. 153. A. where this passage occurs, we have οὐσίας.

<sup>2</sup> Our Greek (Orat. de laudd. Constant.) leaves us here, and does not join us again till we come to Book II. Sect. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Syr. ܘܫܝܢܐ ܘܫܝܢܐ ܘܫܝܢܐ ܘܫܝܢܐ ܘܫܝܢܐ, a paraphrase for *Theologian*: a title very applicable to St John, who spoke much of the Λογος τοῦ Θεοῦ.

<sup>4</sup> John i. 10. with the Peschito.

governed by one Ruler<sup>5</sup>, (and) which consists of the heavens, the earth, and of the things therein, it is now necessary we should shew in a few words, what the nature of the being is which He has assigned to it.

36. This (universe) then, partakes of two natures; of the essence which is more excellent and is allied to THE DIVINE WORD; which, being intellectual and rational, is perceived by the mind, and apprehended by the reason: and to this is possible all that is superior to (material) Bodies. (It partakes) also of that which was necessarily brought forth for the use of this; which is matter,—is the offspring of Bodies, and is understood by the sense of reason, both to exist and to be perishable: and which, as I think, has been well said never to have had any (independent) being<sup>6</sup>. But this, which is visible to the bodily sense, designates the one Universe. This same (too), the whole of which is visible, as well as that which is invisible, may thus be well said to constitute one family of rational beings; just as in the things that are visible, the nature of bodies is one; while of this, some are in the heavens and the æther<sup>7</sup>,—those among these being distinct, and different;—some in the air and on the earth; and of which, the things visible are the animals and plants. So also, in the essence which is intelligent and invisible, the common kind of them all is one. One also is the nature of the generation of the rational and intelligent faculties, while many and various are the distinctions existing in this<sup>8</sup>.

37. This same therefore, which has been fabricated out of matter, and (material) bodies; this, which we usually

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<sup>5</sup> Syr. ܐܝܠܘܗܝܡ ܠܗܘܢ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܥܝܢܝܢ. The last word of which ought probably, to be ܐܝܠܘܗܝܡ; the ܥܝܢܝܢ preceding requiring the passive voice, unless indeed this form is capable of a passive sense, of which I know no example.

<sup>6</sup> Alluding to the reasoning of Plato, see Book II. § 33. seq.

<sup>7</sup> See the Note to sect. 41. below.

<sup>8</sup> So also Aristotle, Lib. de Juventute et Senectute, cap. ii. “Ἀνάγκη δὲ καὶ θρεπτικὴν ψυχὴν, ενεργεῖα μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἐχουσιν, εἶναι μίαν· δυνάμει δὲ πλείους.” “Necesse autem est, ut anima vegetatrix in habitibus, actu simplex unáque sit, potentia multiplex ac plures.”

name the sensible world, which consists of the heavens the earth and of the things therein, may be likened to an imperial city in which there are many citizens, the houses of some of which have been distinguished (as) apartments of the state. Of these, the inner ones are neither entered into, nor trodden, by the many. Some again are for stations without, (set apart) for the keepers of the middle portions<sup>1</sup>. Others again, are far distant from the court, and are left for the inhabitants (generally) and their various assemblies<sup>2</sup>. Many are (thus) the stations in the heavens, and many are those inferior to these in the æther, and in the air above the earth. The habitable

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<sup>1</sup> The Syriac has ܕܢܘܢܐ ܕܢܘܢܐ. But as this last word does not occur in the Syriac lexicons in the sense necessary here, I have taken the Heb. and Chald. ܢܘܢܐ, as the root. And, as the inner courts have just been mentioned, and the outer ones occur immediately after, I have thought it likely, that *middle* or *intermediate* was the sense intended here. If we suppose ܢܘܢܐ, *dorsum*, *femur*, &c. to be the word, the general sense will be much the same. So the Hebrew ܢܘܢܐ, ܢܘܢܐ, and ܢܘܢܐ; and the Latin *dorsum*.

<sup>2</sup> Our Author knew how to accommodāte his reasoning to the class of readers whom he was addressing, who were the classical scholars of his day.—Homer's councils of the Gods gave the first outline perhaps of the sketch given here: so Ovid—

Hæc iter est superis ad magni tecta Tonantis,  
Regalemque domum; Dextra lævaque Deorum  
Atria nobilium valvis celebrantur apertis.  
Plebs habitant diversa locis: a fronte potentes  
Cælicolæ, clarique suos posuere Penates.  
Hic locus est; quem, si verbis audacia detur,  
Haud timeam magni dixisse Palatia cæli.

*Metam.* i. l. 170. seq.

The Stoics in like manner affirm, that the world is a sort of city, consisting both of Gods and men: the Gods being the rulers, men the subjects, &c. “οὕτω καὶ ὁ κόσμος, οἷονεὶ πόλις ἐστὶν ἐκ Θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων συνεστῶσα, τῶν μὲν Θεῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐχόντων, τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων ὑποτεταγμένων, κ.τ.λ. From the epitome of Arius Didymus. Prep. Evang. Lib. xv. cap. xv. so also Philo, ib. Lib. xiii. cap. xviii. Ed. Viger. p. 704. making the heavenly bodies, the sun, moon, &c. a sort of ministry to the whole. A passage similar to this

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invested with light<sup>1</sup> and holding lamps, as the sun and the moon, honouring Him who is beyond all, the King of all. And, at his intimation and word, these supply light by means of lamps which cannot be extinguished, to those whose lot it is to be in the place of darkness, and without the heavens. Thus are brought near to Him the powers of the air, which are invisible to bodily eyes, as also the animals and other earthly things (which are visible): so is man also the chief of them all, whose race was no stranger to that intelligent and rational Essence which is invisible, and who was created on the earth to render praise to the Godhead and rule of Him who is the Cause of all things. Like as on earth therefore, there is spread over the whole world but one, and that the same human nature; and, as many nations have arisen out of this, and the manner of life of every race, its fashions, modes, and governments, are different, not only of the barbarians and wild, but also of the peaceable, fashionable, and wise; and, (as) there are among these both slaves and freemen, poor and rich; those also who differ in colour, as the Scythians, and those whose lot it is to dwell without, in the west; the Hindoos also, at the rising of the sun, and the Ethiopians at its setting; Greeks, too, and others whose destiny it is to reside among princes; and, among all these again, some bear rule over portions of the nations, and others are wholly subject: with the great king of all moreover, some are considered as in the place of friends, some are elevated to the greatest honours, others are more especially ennobled for their virtuous deeds: some, again, fill the rank of slaves; and others, bearing spears and shields, surround the sovereign: others again, are military officers in the cities, while others fill the situation of rule in these: others too, have met the fate of the

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<sup>1</sup> Syr.  $\text{ܐܘܪܘܟܝܢ} \text{ܐܘܪܘܟܝܢ} \text{ܐܘܪܘܟܝܢ}$ : not unlike Aristotle's (LIV. de mundo, cap. ii.)...*το ανωτατον θεου οικητήριον, ουρανος ὠνόμασται, πλήρης δὲ ὢν σωμαίων θείων, ἃ δὴ καλεῖν ἄστρα εἰώθαμεν.*" ... "Id quod in celsissimo loco situm est, Cælum dicitur, Dei domicilium. Hoc cum divinis corporibus plenum sit, quæ sidera nos appellare solemus."



destitute of all rational light. This kind is quite deserving of the middle place, as capable at once of both the excellent and the base. But the King is one, that ONLY power which is God above all, both of those who are in the heavens, and above the heavens. And He it is who holds by the law and edict of sovereign rule, the things that are in the air, on the earth, and under the earth, and which are of all, and in all. This law and edict is moreover one, (viz.) He who lives in all, THE WORD OF GOD, the minister, (lit. agent): not as that dying (utterance) which is sent forth from the mouth of mortals into the air<sup>1</sup>; but is,—as it has now been made known to us (by the Gospel)—of things (in their nature) possible, the Governour of all in all wisdom and power. He (I say) who, as THE WORD OF GOD, distributes fully and in justice to all, the things which are most suitable to them; and gives to each, and to every one of them, the stations which are suitable: to those which are near, (those) of happiness; but those of the contrary, to them who have fallen from virtue, as they may have (severally) deserved. He at once gives to all—like those who are on the earth,—to reside in different localities; to some, to exult at the side of the heavenly sovereignty; to others, to keep watch without; to others, to dwell beyond (these), and at a distance: while all with one mouth, and according to the doctrine and instruction of each, celebrate the praise of the King and God of all:—(all I say) who bear this law in their hearts and in the mind of their nature, that they should confess that ONE, who is the likeness of the image of sovereign rule, who is the only (begotten) WORD,—Him “*who is the Image of the invisible God, the firstborn of every creature*”<sup>2</sup>—as the divine words mysteriously teach.

39. And to the honouring of Him are all, whether the rulers or the ruled in every house and city, at once devoted: not, with inanimate colours variously set forth in pictures (or images), but within, on the hearts of their

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<sup>1</sup> To the same effect, our Author in his work against Marcellus, Lib. i. cap. i. p. 4. C. seq.

<sup>2</sup> Col. i. 15.

intellectual faculties as upon intelligent tablets, is the worship of His Godhead inscribed. Thus do all those, who are subject to His power, tender their worship, irrespective of those vicious Demons, and wicked Spirits, and “*Rulers of this world,*” who consider themselves as in the situation of enemies and haters; those who have assimilated themselves to the image of fraudulent rule<sup>3</sup>, and put forth various books in the place of others<sup>4</sup>; that is, innumerable false scriptures (ascribed) to that fearful name, and to that expressed name, which governs the Law<sup>5</sup>. But, far superior to the Law is the name (which) they have surreptitiously assumed to themselves. Thus do they succeed in casting down to the earth among bodies, elements, and the portions of the world, the (whole) race of mortal men. Hence have men feared and served the creatures, more than the Creator of these<sup>6</sup>.

40. And again, they named (as gods) for themselves, these very powers, contenders and rebels against God, which in their perverseness so became gods; these (I say) which never existed (as such). And well may those be considered as enemies and haters, from whom the law of truth has commanded us to flee, and to take refuge in Him alone who is the WORD, the Saviour of all;—Him, who has cast forth the seed which is of Himself, in order that it may produce, not only in the heavenly places, but also on the earth; and has assigned both to those that are in the heavens, and to those that are in the elements of

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<sup>3</sup> Syr. lit. who have assimilated to themselves the Image of fraudulent rule. ܡܫܠܬܐ ܕܡܫܠܬܐ ܕܡܫܠܬܐ ܕܡܫܠܬܐ, which is only a peculiar way of making the comparison: the Person meant is Satan, as opposed to Christ.

<sup>4</sup> The Syriac is peculiar here, and stands thus: ܡܫܠܬܐ ܕܡܫܠܬܐ ܕܡܫܠܬܐ ܕܡܫܠܬܐ: a practice common to many of the early heretics.

<sup>5</sup> Syr. ܡܫܠܬܐ ܕܡܫܠܬܐ ܕܡܫܠܬܐ ܕܡܫܠܬܐ may signify, *that description of name which is contained in the Law*: i. e. God. But, as ܡܫܠܬܐ is rarely taken in a passive sense, I have preferred the rendering given in the text. Comp. 1 Sam. ix. 17, as cited by Castell.

<sup>6</sup> Alluding to Rom. i. 25.

the earth, one and the same portion of kind. So that the rational mind which is in man, (and) is of that incorporeal intelligent essence, and of the kind of the **DIVINE WORD** which pervades all that has hitherto been generated, is nourished on earth by its meditations on Him, and previously trained for its transition (conversion) to virtue. Hence too, is it previously instructed and taught, to provide for its passing to the children of its own kind. Wholly therefore is this alone, of those that are on the earth, through its participation with **THE DIVINE WORD**, worthy of the name of rational. He has then, necessarily assigned a place on earth (to) the mind and rational soul; so that a small image of the great City of God, mentioned in the example a little while ago (given), has been set up on earth: nor is there in the whole empire of God, nor even a place on the earth, exempt from this lot. And it was right, that praise should be ascribed in every part of the universe to **THE WORD**, the common Father of all, by those who had been generated of Himself. Hence, even the element of earth is not exempt from being entrusted with this rational portion. Not only by those who are beyond the world, and in the heavens, and the rational (beings) that are in the air; but also by those that dwell on the earth, is that just praise sent up to the Maker and Father of all: which indeed the Divine Word teaches, when it thus commands every man to sing the praise which is due to God<sup>1</sup>: “*Praise ye God from the heavens; praise ye him in the heights. Praise him all ye his angels; praise him all ye his hosts. Praise him sun and moon; praise him all ye stars and light. Praise him ye heavens of heavens.*” After the things which are upon the earth, he (the Sacred Writer) reasons thus: “*Praise ye God from the earth (all)*” other things. He then also (reasons upon) this rational family of man,—this (I say) which divides itself from every thing else into various companies and orders of rank,—in this manner:—“*Praise him ye kings of the earth, and all*

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<sup>1</sup> Cited from the cxlviii<sup>th</sup> Psalm, with a few variations from the text of the Peschito.

“ *people : ye great, and all ye judges of the earth : young  
 “ men and maidens : old men with children. Let them  
 “ praise the name of the Lord ; for great is his name  
 “ alone ; and his praise is in the earth, and in the  
 “ heavens.*”

41. With these (words) therefore, he leads over against and along with the companies that are in the heavens, those also that are on the earth, to the praise of the King of all. For to Him alone in truth, and to no other God,—(to) Him who is beyond all the heavens above,—do the companies that are above the curvatures of the heavens ascribe honour and praise. To Him (as) their Father do the hosts of angels and spirits, the offspring of the light which is intelligent, render the praises which are unutterable. To Him also the sun, the moon, and the stars which are in the circuits of distant worlds, and run their lengthened courses in the spaces of æther<sup>2</sup>, and form a crown (as it were) to Him ;—the invisible powers also, which wing their way in the free expanse of air,—proclaim the meed of praise and blessing which is (both) due and becoming.

42. How then, after (the detail of) these things could it be becoming, that the element of earth alone should be wanting in the provision which (prevails) in all? Or, that this nature which is generative of all these fruits,

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<sup>2</sup> Syr. ܦܠܳܘܳܟܳܝܳܐ ܕܳܠܳܘܳܟܳܝܳܐ, lit. In the Stadia: i. e. places appointed for racing. The æther has been usually supposed to constitute that portion of the upper regions which approximates to that of the fixed stars: by some it has been thought to consist of fire, by others of a very subtile fluid. Aristotle's opinion may perhaps, be taken here as the most authoritative. He says, then, (Lib. de Mundo, cap. ii.), “ ουρανου δε και αστρων ουσιαν μεν, αιθερα καλουμεν, ουχ ως τινες, δια το πυρώδη ούσαν, αἴθεσθαι, πλημμυλοῦντες περι τῆν πλείστην πυρὸς ἀπηλλαγμένην δύναμιν· ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ θεῖν κυκλοφορουμένην στοιχειῶν οὔσαν ἕτερον τῶν τεσσάρων, ἀκήρατόν τε καὶ θεῖον.” “ Cæli porro siderumque substantiam appellamus ætherem: non quidem ideo quod ignita flagret ipsa, ut aliqui censuerunt, plurimum utique aberrantes circa potentiam illam maxime ab ignea natura abhorrentem: origine vero hujus vocabuli inde ducta, quod semper æther currat motu circumductili: cum sit illud elementum a quatuor illis diversum: tum divinum, tum interitus experts.”



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honour that is becoming and just,—not name any other thing God, which it is not right should be called God, but Him alone to whom all things give (a similar) testimony; Him, whom all creation, visible and invisible,—even as He alone is the efficient Cause of all,—names its God, and whom it worships.

44. These things then being such, let us now again approach our subject afresh, as already laid down. These heavens then, and places in the heavens which are viewed by the bodily senses; this earth also, and air, as well as this whole constitution (of things) which is of them, (and) which may be likened to a great city, differ in no respect in their nature from those inanimate elements which are in its portions, the earth, the waters, the air, and fire. But it is not necessary, that the denizens of this great city should be considered as of the same material; nor is it, that we should affirm the seed of the rational soul, and of the perishable body, to be one and the same. For the mind, the reason, the rational soul, and the whole of the nature which is intelligent, may accurately and well be affirmed to be the seed of THE WORD OF GOD, the Creator of all. Nor were these any part of the earth, or of the air; nor, of any essence cold or hot; but, of those superior faculties, by which they were made worthy to partake in things most excellent. Because things prior in order, are the causes of those which succeed them. And the first things were those generated of THE WORD: after these, those that are irrational. After the primary essences therefore, were those latter ones, which followed (these as) causes. But these primitive ones,—the origin of production,—exist (only) in intelligent souls; on whose account it was, that the seed of passive bodies was also prepared. For it was necessary, that a sufficient house or residence should be prepared for these. Hence the primary heavens appeared to be a place suitable to the people of this city, who were both above it and in it; and the curvatures within the heavens, for those inha-

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<sup>1</sup> This expression will be understood, when it is considered that the ancients supposed the heavens to consist of sphere upon sphere, encircling each other, like the coats of an onion.

bitants who should be distinguished accordingly. But thou (reasonable soul), wouldest never designate as denizens of the city on earth, either the sensitive being<sup>2</sup> of the fierce animals, or any kind of reptile refusing instruction; or indeed, any of all those that partake in the nature and name of irrational. For these are thy slaves, which have been subjected by the law of nature; and they necessarily render the service which is due to rational beings, as to their lords. For the agricultural ox places his neck willingly in the yoke, for the purposes of agriculture for man; the carrying ass too, confesses his own nature; the horse also, on which his lord rides, exults<sup>3</sup>; and the hunting dog fondles on him who feeds him.

45. The flocks too, and herds, (and) again, all sorts of possession (in animals), are given to men; even the fierce beasts are (at his ready) service. These same too, we kill and reduce to subjection. We also take, by means of reason, the bird that flies in the heights. We also bring up those (beings) which are beneath in the depths of the sea, and (otherwise) within it. And nature plainly teaches, that all these things have been established for the sake of man. Man is therefore the progeny of the DIVINE WORD; not for the sake of any other thing, but

<sup>2</sup> Syr. |Λιμῖτις |Ζοῖα |Λαυ.

<sup>3</sup> "Shares with his lord the pleasure and the ride."—POPE.

This argument is similarly urged by Plutarch, (*De Fortuna*,) p. 98. Edit. 1620.) "και νους ορη, και νους ακουει, τα δ' αλλα κωφά και τυφλά... οὔτως ἔνεκα τῶν αισθήσεων, εἰ μὴ νοῦν μηδὲ λόγον ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἔσχευ, οὐδὲν ἄν διέφερε τῷ βίῳ τῶν θηρίων, νῦν δὲ οὐκ ἀπὸ τύχης οὐδὲ αὐτομάτως περίεσμεν αὐτῶν, καὶ κρατοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ὁ Προμηθεὺς, τουτέστιν ὁ λογισμὸς, αἴτιος.

"Ἴππων ὄνων τ' ὀχεῖα, καὶ ταύρων γονάς  
Δοὺς ἀντίδωρα, καὶ πόνων ἐκδέκτορα.—κατ' Ἀισχύλου."

"Mens enim videt, mens audit, reliqua cæca sunt, et surda... ita præstare reliqui sensus non possent absque mens esset et ratio, ut reliquis animalibus anteiret homo. Nunc quod potiores sumus, iisque imperamus, non casu aut fortuito fit, sed Prometheus, id est rationis usus, hoc efficit.

*Fætus equorum, asinorumque, et boum genus,  
Munera rependens, quæ nostris laboribus  
Subeant,—ut est apud Æschylum."*



the Divine inbreathing, when He said, “ *And he breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and the man became a living soul*<sup>3</sup>.” He also teaches, that He gave to him the more excellent authority and rule, in these words when saying, *Let them have dominion over all that is on the earth, over the beasts, the fowls, the creeping things, (and) the animals.* And, to all these words does that nature give (its) testimony, which has put every thing under his hand, and has subjected all (things) to this rational creature. But, if the Divine words can obtain no hearing with thee, still, I cannot think that thy mind is so entirely darkened, that thou canst not think within thyself, How it is, that bodies and bodily substances,—or, whatever other divine thing it is which moves the body,—should consist of this possible excellence,—this, I say,—that (such body) should know how to avail itself of a discriminating reason, as to what its own essence is?—this, that it should deliver instruction by memory?—this, that it should extend itself to the contemplation of all things? But, be thyself and ask, whether the nature of the body can understand the constitution of the world; the operations of the primary elements; the beginning, the end, the middle portion, enumeration, and succession of the seasons; the changes of times; the revolutions of the year; the appointed order of the stars; and (I know not) how many other things, which men have by the experiments of geometry, computation, and enumeration, pointed out. For these (results) are incorporeal, and the contemplation of them is (purely) rational: that any one should make them adjuncts of the bones, the flesh, or the blood, would be folly infinitely great. And, well might they be asked, who thus think of these things, since these five senses comprehend all the faculties of the body, Which of them is it that can teach man the contemplation of any doctrine? Is it the sight of the eyes? But this distinguishes between colours and forms only. If you say, The hearing; you (only) name the recipient of sounds acute and grave, but not of any rational perception. And again, in like manner, the taste is the sense discriminative of sweetness, or of food, as it might

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<sup>3</sup> Gen. ii. 7.

be. The smell too, is the trier of scents, but not of doctrines. And again, this sense which is extended over the whole body, will touch (and discriminate) things cold and hot, hard and soft; but not virtue, nor (yet) that wisdom which is much more excellent. And, How is it with the irrational animals? Have they not eyes, ears, and nostrils? the sense of taste, and of touch? But nothing of these can be brought near to the efficiency of reason: because the doctrines, which philosophy alone can apprehend, are not of the body, nor of the sense that is irrational: they belong solely to that superiority which attends the rational soul; which is superior to the nature of the body, and which takes up its abode in mankind alone. If however, any one wish impudently to persist by way of reasoning, and affirm, That we possess nothing beyond these irrational animals; that like these<sup>1</sup> we are born, and are subject to corruption; because the one provision of us all, is of the earth: the passive nature of the body is the same; the sense is in nothing superior; the labour again, and rest is, in the same manner, one; as is the blood of us all, the corruption of the body, and (its) dissolution into the primitive elements. Hitherto however, you do not say, that any one of these can, like the rational animal, be brought near to the contemplation of things incorporeal; can bear about it any rational instruction, or lay up learning in its memory; can consider discourses about virtue and vice; and, as to philosophy, that it ever even entered its mind. But all these things I might omit, because all men do not possess them. I (only) ask your reason these things: Was there a city ever (yet) constructed by beings destitute of reason? Or, is there in these the mind of the Artificer, of the Builder, of the Weaver, or, of the Agriculturist? Or, has a ship ever been fitted up by them? Or, has the astonishing art of governing (such vessel) so much as even entered their minds? When, be-

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<sup>1</sup> Syr.  $\text{ܕܚܡܥܕܗܘܘܢ}$   $\text{ܕܫܘܠܡܘܢ}$ . This variety also occasionally occurs in  $\text{ܕܫܘܠܡܘܢ}$ , for  $\text{ܕܫܘܠܡܘܢ}$ : which is rare, and is perhaps an imitation of the Arabic,  $\text{هناك}$ ,  $\text{ذلك}$ , &c. in which the pronoun  $\text{ه}$ , or  $\text{ك}$  is suffixed.

hold! the things which are bodily (only) are with them, far more excellent than with us: because, of all animals, man is the most defective, and, as the Poets sing, “*The human race is infirm*”<sup>2</sup>. Nor can we say how much he is inferior, in magnitude of body, to the Elephant; or, to be thought of, as to strength and abundance, with the Camel species. And, to many other animals must he cede the victory, both as to power, and swiftness of foot. What can they scent better than the tracing dogs, which are taught to course by the smell? or, be said to see better than any Antelope; which, because they see (well) are, in the Greek, named “*the Seers*”<sup>3</sup>? And, is it necessary we should hence say, how much weaker the body of man naturally is, than that of the Bear, the Lion, the Panther, and of many other animals? or, how quickly or easily he is deceived and overcome by those that attack him? Nevertheless, this diminutive (creature) will, whenever he pleases, subdue any of those already mentioned; not by bodily or corporeal

<sup>2</sup> Syr. ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢܐ ܕܡܢܐ ܕܡܢܐ ܕܡܢܐ ܕܡܢܐ. Similar, though not identical, sentiments will be found in extracts given by Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. v. p. 492. Edit. 1629; by Theodoret, Gr. Affect. curat. Serm. i. p. 477. Edit. 1642. Ib. Edit. Gaisford, p. 193. The nearest is, perhaps, to be found in a Fragment of Menander preserved by Plutarch, (De consolat. ad Apoll. p. 103. Edit. 1620.)

.....“ἀσθενέστατον γὰρ ὄν (ζῶον)  
Φύσει.”

.....“cum sit infirmissimum (animal)  
Natura.”

Another not unlike it is (ib. p. 104) cited from Homer:

“Οὐδὲν ἀκιδνότερον γαῖα τρέφει ἀνθρώπιον.”

“Nil homine in terris infirmius ætheris aura vescitur.”

<sup>3</sup> The word, used here in the original work, was, no doubt Δορκάς: on which Bochart has the following note. Hieron. I. Lib. iii. cap. xxv. (p. 925). “Damir. ܕܡܢܐ ܕܡܢܐ ܕܡܢܐ ܕܡܢܐ. (Our Syriac word is, ܕܡܢܐ.) Capræ describuntur acutissimi visus. Unde illis inditum δορκάδων Græcum nomen. Etymologus, Δορκάς παρὰ τὸ δέρκω τὸ βλέπω· ὄξυδερκές γὰρ τὸ ζῶον, καὶ εὐόμματον, &c. The same argument, generally, is urged by Plutarch, (De Fortuna, p. 98. D.) where Plato is cited as saying, that man alone is left by nature naked, unarmed, &c.—“γυμνος καὶ ἀνοπλος καὶ ἀνυποδέτος καὶ ἀστρωτος ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀπολέλειπται.”

strength, for (in this respect) he is greatly the inferior, and is insufficient to fill the stomach of even one Bear. But there is a certain nature within him, more excellent than the body, the power of the mind, and of the intelligent soul. And it is by the superiority of wisdom that he effects these astonishing things. By means of these (things) hast thou, as a dear child, been honoured of God. Why (so) despisest thou thy greatness as to think, that this thy whole is (mere) flesh? and likenest this body, with the divine and rational knowledge which is within thee, to these irrational beings, the whole of which is perishable? Will then, neither the irrational nature of the animals, nor this common name *irrational*, nor (yet) the openly apparent useful servitude, under which these have never sought excuse from the bearing of burdens or of labour, suffice to persuade thee, (that all is thus) because God has given to thee the dominion and sovereignty over them all<sup>1</sup>?

48. Man alone therefore, of those that are on the earth,—he who is in the image of God, carries on and introduces (his matters) wherever he pleases: at one time, he trains the animals that are suited to the chase; at another, he pastures the flocks that are adapted to this: at another, he avails himself of the tame animals for (his) service; reducing (their) fierce nature to peaceable subjection: at another, having so reduced them, he brings them into peaceable proximity with himself: at another, having brought them together by the multifarious means of reason, he confines them to the house. And not (this) alone, but he will also take into his hands the injurious reptiles, and play with them: and of those that breathe out death, and reject instruction, will he make his sport.

49. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, is not to be persuaded to take up his residence in the caves that are in the deserts, or in the heights. He accordingly builds cities with walls, and adorns (these) with streets, palaces, mansions, and other edifices.

50. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, considers not of (his) provision after the unchangeable manner and

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<sup>1</sup> Matter, in some respects similar to this, will be found in the Orat. de laudd. Constant. Cap. v. p. 509. B. seq. and Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xxviii. p. 556. seq.

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53. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, evincing within himself the image of THE WORD OF GOD, erects on high a house of judgment; and, acting after the manner of God's just Judge<sup>1</sup>, duly determines (the award) of life and of death; apportioning life to some, and assigning death to others.

54. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, will confide his life to the small section of a tree<sup>2</sup>. He has also discovered the science of ship-building. He too will guide the ship on the back of the sea; will commit his person to the depths of the humid element, and beat back the death that stands at his side. He (alone) looks up to the heavens, and to that Governour of all, who binds together all distances, as to the safety of those who navigate (the seas).

55. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, has discovered the doctrines of astronomy: has, while moving below in the body, and clothed with the weight of mortality, ascended up in his mind on high; and, making the circuit of the sun<sup>3</sup>, the moon, and the stars, foretells<sup>4</sup> what shall come to pass, as he also does the eclipses of the moon, the vicissitudes of the seasons, and the changes of times.

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“Medicinam enim animæ, quæ Justitia cognominatur, omnium esse artium maximam, præter sexcentos alios etiam Pindarus testatur, principem et dominum omnium deum appellans Aristotechnam, id est, artificum præstantissimum: quippe justitiæ administratorem, quæ jus habet determinandi quando, quomodo, et quatenus quilibet malorum sit puniendus.” It is not improbable, I think, that our author had this place in his eye when he wrote the above paragraph. Clemens Alexand. also cites the place in Pindar, Strom. Lib. v. p. 598. B. but in a different sense. Plutarch. de his qui sero, &c. ib. p. 550. A.

<sup>1</sup> That is, considering Christ as appointed the final Judge of all, man here acts like him.

<sup>2</sup> i. e. the section of a tree formed into a boat, as was much the case in former times. See the Prep. Evang. Lib. i. cap. x. p. 35. A.

<sup>3</sup> The MS. has,  $\text{ⲓⲛⲥⲁⲛⲁ}$ , the heavens, which is a manifest error for  $\text{ⲓⲛⲥⲁⲛ}$ .

<sup>4</sup> The reading ought I think, to be,  $\text{ⲓⲛⲥⲁⲛⲁ ⲓⲛⲥⲁⲛⲁ ⲓⲛⲥⲁⲛⲁ}$   $\text{ⲓⲛⲥⲁⲛⲁ}$ ; that is, transposing  $\text{ⲓⲛⲥⲁⲛⲁ}$ , and placing next to  $\text{ⲓⲛⲥⲁⲛⲁ}$ , and then considering the following matter as all belonging to the two closing terms  $\text{ⲓⲛⲥⲁⲛⲁ ⲓⲛⲥⲁⲛⲁ}$ : and so I have translated it.



of the chord. He also has divided the primary letters (of the alphabet) by the grammatical art, and has discovered the powers and province of reason. He too, has determined the combination of verbs and of nouns<sup>1</sup>, as well as the precepts of rhetoric and grammar. All these moreover, does he bring together, preserve in his memory, and bring forward, as stores filled with every sort of treasure. In one mind too, does he comprehend both the events and histories of former times; and these will he bring forth whenever he pleases, as a river from an unfailing source, and inundate (therewith) the hearing of all present.

61. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, is, in his works, like unto God who is over all. Any thing which he pleases will he form into animals; even this inanimate matter will he change into the form, figure, and fashion, of every sort of creature. By means of this instructive nature, (and) the reasoning faculty, will he set about emulating (even) the Maker of all things; and man will make man, at one time in stone; at another, in wood; at another, in flowers of (many) colours; as well as in the forms that are impervious to change: and (indeed) every sort of animal and of plant, will he, by the same means, imitate: shewing forth fully, by his works, the power (vested within him) of the image of God.

62. This (being) alone, of those that are on the earth, will imitate on the earth whereon he walks, the celestial sphere, and will engrave on the matter of brass the likeness of the very heavens, and on this will he impress a copy of the stars, both wandering and fixed. He will also appoint, by the modeller's art, the limits both of times and of seasons; and will surround the exterior (of his sphere) with the images of (various) animals. By the abundance of (his) knowledge moreover, and the means of (many) observations, will he imitate the heavenly sphere; and,—like God,—will allow the heavens whose revolutions

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<sup>1</sup> Syr. |ܐܘܪܘܟܐܘܢ |ܐܘܪܘܟܐܘܢ. The two last words are mere terms of grammar, as may be seen in Ameira. Gram. Syr. Romæ, 1596. pp. 56. 251.

are above the earth, and with the universal whole,—and whose revolving is an unceasing miracle,—to revolve with the things that are on the earth, (in) the similitude which is of earthly <sup>1</sup>material. The angel of the seasons too, will shout (as it were) with a loud voice, and all, at once and in a moment, are in motion; the doors, too, at the coming in of the seasons<sup>2</sup>, throw themselves open (as it were) of their own accord, and the inanimate images of the birds, placed round about it (the sphere), speak out in chirpings<sup>3</sup>. The moon also which is on the earth, runs its course with that in the heavens; and the (mere) brass of itself, changes its fashions, after the manner of the moon; shewing itself now dichotomized, now on the wane, and now in its full light. Thus the images of the seasons follow the analogy of those in nature, and the human-made world contends with (that of) the workmanship of THE WORD OF GOD!

63. Man alone, of those that are on the earth, can, by means of words not to be uttered, of prayers acceptable to God, and by virtue of the fear of God, (evinced) both in word and life, drive far away the invisible nature of concealed demons<sup>4</sup>. But further, when he had even departed

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<sup>2</sup> Syr. ܫܘܠܬܐ. lit. *hours*, a literal translation, in all probability, of the Greek ὥραι, signifying *seasons*.

<sup>3</sup> One would think from this, that the ancient Astrolabes were furnished with an apparatus for the purpose of exhibiting animated nature, while they presented the places and groups of the stars; not unlike, perhaps, our modern Orreries, supposing them accompanied by a sort of cuckoo-clock. Lactantius thus describes the sphere of Archimedes, Lib. II. cap. v. p. 115. Ed. 1698. “An Archimedes sicutus concavo ære similitudinem mundi ac figuram potuit machinari, in quo ita solem, ac lunam composuit, ut inæquales motus et cœlestibus similes, conversionibus singulis quasi diebus efficerent: et non modo accessus solis, et recessus, vel incrementa, diminutionesque lunæ, vel etiam stellarum, vel inerrantium vel vagarum, dispares cursus, orbis ille dum vertitur exhiberet,” &c. According to the Greeks the sphere was invented by Anaximander: Diog. Laert. in the life of this philosopher.

<sup>4</sup> So Porphyry, Prep. Evang. Lib. IV. cap. xxii. “καὶ εἰσὶν...ἀόρατοὶ τε, καὶ τελείως ἀναίσθητοι αἰσθήσεσιν ἀνθρωπίναις.” “Qui...nec oculis, nec alio quovis humano sensu attingi omnino possunt.” Eusebius, perhaps, first alludes here to the practice of Exorcism, as had recourse to in  
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from the right way, he could effect all this by a power, such as would, by songs and incantations, subject the kind of these which flies in the air; and, again, would seize, by means of force, and the appetencies restrictive<sup>1</sup> of nature, those unembodied powers which fly over any part of the earth, just as they would the flying sparrows. He would lead on, or bind, (these), whenever he chose: and, sitting upon the images of fabricated gods, would shew by these his doings, that his own power was far superior to that of the fabricated deity of such.

64. Man alone shews of what kind the superiority of (his) intellectual and incorporeal being is, and establishes (the fact) that (this) his power is impervious either to subjugation or deterioration by calamity. For, he will prepare his body for the fire, the sword, the fierce beasts, (and) the depths of the sea; and he will approach every species of torment. He knows too, this his nature, that it is perishable and fleeting, transient and dissoluble. But that which resides within, is unyielding; and, that this is different from that which perishes, he proved who cried

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the primitive Church: see Suiceri Thesaurus, sub voce, 'Εξορκισμός.— There was moreover, a very general belief that a sort of magic virtue consisted in the pronounciation of certain words. Origen (contra Cels. Lib. v. pp. 261—2) tells us that any name, or word, having effect in incantations, if changed or translated into any other language, immediately lost its whole magical efficacy. His instances are, *The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*: the names *Israel, Adonai, Sabaoth, &c.* Nor does he restrict these usages to the professors of the true religion. See also ib. p. 374, and Spencer's very curious note on pp. 17. C. 41: notes, p. 16—19, where we have every thing we can require on this subject.

<sup>1</sup> This is perhaps, an instance of *hypallage*, as occasionally met with in the Scriptures (see the note to §. 57 above.) So Rom. vii. 24. "του σώματος του θανάτου τούτου." Syr. ܠܘܨܐܘܬܐ ܠܡܘܬܐ ܠܗܘܐ. Here, the ܠܘܨܐܘܬܐ ܠܡܘܬܐ ܠܗܘܐ, by the desires of the bonds (the lusts) of nature. Our author probably means, (by hypallage) the mortifications to which persons of this sort usually submitted, just as it is the case with the devotees of Hindustan at this day; all of whom generally hold, that they have power over demoniacal agents. A belief however, in these things as expressed here, must be classed among those, which more enlightened times have very properly rejected. Our author might,

out, “Bruise, bruise the form”; but me thou wilt not bruise.” And again another, proclaiming with freedom of speech: “Burn or roast the body, and be satisfied with me when thou hast drunk my blackened blood; but, before the stars descend to the earth, and the earth ascends to the heavens, I will present to thee no one conciliating perturbed expression<sup>3</sup>.” One of the friends of God moreover, when suffering evils, put forth these words: “*What shall separate me from the love of God? (shall) tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or hunger,*

however, have intended this as a sort of argumentum ad hominem, it being religiously held by the heathen of his times, as may be seen Prep. Evang. Lib. iv. C. xxii. seq. Where (p. 173. D.) he tells us that in this case he used not the testimony of Christians, but of the heathen Philosophers themselves, καὶ ταυτα ουκ ἐξ ἡμῶν κατηγορεῖται ἀλλ’ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀκριβέστατα τὰ οἰκεῖα μᾶλλον, ἢ ἡμεῖς εἰδότες. See ib. cap. xxiii. on the means used for expelling and opposing these Demons, from Porphyry. See also Sect. 12. Book II. below.

<sup>2</sup> Syr. ܐܘܢܘܝܘܢ ܥܘܢܥܘܢܘܢ. The last word should, perhaps, be written, ܐܘܢܘܝܘܢ. Castell giving ܐܘܢܘܝܘܢ, pulchritudo. Al. Pulcher oculi nictus. i. q. Copticum ουρικι. The word occurs very rarely in the Syriac: and hence, probably, the mistake of the Copyist. This is, no doubt, the same with the relation given of Anaxarchus by Clem. Alexand. (p. 496. Ed. 1629.) and by Theodoret, Edit. Gaisford, p. 328, in these words: “Πτίσσε τὸν Ἀναξάρχου θυλακὸν Ἀνάξαρχον γὰρ οὐ πτίσσεις.” Theodoret gives it thus: “Πτίσσε πτίσσε τὸν Ἀναξάρχου θύλακον, Ἀνάξαρχον [γὰρ] οὐ πτίσσεις.” This being the case, the reading ܐܘܢܘܝܘܢ, may be a corruption, for ܐܘܢܘܡܘܝܘܢ: or, if the general sense only was intended to be given, Eusebius himself might have omitted the proper name here. According to Celsus (Origen contra Cels. Lib. vii. p. 367,) Anaxarchus was thrown into a mortar, and, when beaten there, uttered these remarkable words. The tyrant who reduced him to this, was Aristocreon of Cyprus (ib. p. 368.). Epictetus is here also celebrated for a similar act of fortitude. This account, moreover, of Anaxarchus will be found at length in Diogenes Laertius, under his life.

<sup>3</sup> This will be found in Prep. Evang. Lib. vi. cap. vi. p. 242. C. thus,

Ἰτω μὲν πῦρ, ἴτω δὲ φάσγανον· τέμνε,  
 Κάταιθε σάρκας, ἐμπλησθητι μου πίνων  
 Κελαινὸν αἷμα. πρόσθε γὰρ κάτω γαιῆς  
 Ἰασιω ἄστρα, γῆ δ’ ἄνεισ’ ἐς οὐρανὸν,  
 Πρὶν ἐξ ἐμοῦ σε θῶπ’ ἀπαντῆσαι λόγον.

See Viger’s note on the place. A place not unlike this will be found

*or nakedness, or cold, or the sword*<sup>1</sup>?" I myself too have seen, in these times, some whose eyes were digged out; others, who were deprived of their legs by the cautery; and others who were crucified; their whole bodies hastening to dissolution, and their mortal nature subject to rebuke; while the conscious mind - residing within them, attached to God, was immoveable, impervious to subjection, and unyielding to these hardships<sup>3</sup>; clearly proving to those of sound minds, that their faculty of excellence was a thing altogether different from that which was perishable.

65. This alone, of the animals that are on the earth, partaking of the divine inbreathing<sup>3</sup>, is worthy of the favour<sup>3</sup> of the Deity. He too, will hold converse with the Angels of God, and will apprehend the foreknowledge of things to come to pass; at one time, by means of dreams; at another, when so invested by the power of God with the Spirit, that he will even enounce the prophecy of things future; and, by the manifestation of deeds such as these, he will confirm (the fact of) his fellowship with Deity.

66. This (animal) alone recognizes in every thing, something greater and more excellent than any that is visible;—Him who is invisible to the eyes, and imperceptible to the touch, as well as to every faculty of bodily sense; but is visible to the mind and understanding alone. Him does he, by His (special) teaching, and the learning of which his nature is capable, confess; and Him does he call God: to Him also does he render praise; and shews, by means of this (his) knowledge, his relationship with the Deity.

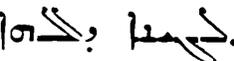
67. This (being) alone has arisen (to be) the spectator of the great works of THE WORD OF GOD, and is

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in Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. iv. p. 493. seq. with some others to the same effect.

<sup>1</sup> Rom. viii. 35. differing considerably from the text of the Peschito and Philoxenian Versions.

<sup>2</sup> See §. 47, above.

<sup>3</sup> Syr. MS. . Castell has <sup>op</sup>, *justitia, clementia, indulgentia*. Our MS. perhaps has  erroneously.

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dissolved, and shall receive a participation with those who are incorruptible. For, just as that which is conceived in the womb, puts on the clothing of its locality; and the infant to be born, when the period of its destined months has arrived, casts this off, and accordingly comes forth into the light, inhales the purer air, and henceforward is considered as of the nature of man; so also is this perfectible species, (as) believed to be among men, (and as) opposed to the (still) superior one,—a mere infant, and as yet a fœtus (only) conceived on earth,—clothed in this corruptible skin; which, by the mercy of the great gift of God, it is necessary it should cast off, in order that it should not be for ever harassed with these defective things, but should, in due time, go forth into the light, and pass on to the life, which is impervious to corruption. On this account, well have the companies of the wise, the attached to God, pressed (as) they have been by a participation in these corruptible bodies, desired their change for the better, and followed after their equals, the children of their city which is above, even as he was (circumstanced) who said in the divine word, “*Wretched<sup>1</sup> man that I am! Who shall deliver me from this body of death?*” And again, “*Even<sup>2</sup> if we live in the body, still we labour not in the flesh.*” He adduces his reason too, and says, “*For our labour (of culture) is in heaven<sup>3</sup>; and we<sup>4</sup> draw near to the city of the living God which is in heaven, and to the assembly of myriads of angels, and to the church of the firstborn who are written in heaven.*”—These are the words of a notable man, and of (all) those who love God.

70. If however, many are so foolish as to be attached to the lusts that are here, that they are to the present time but infants in intellect; What has this to do with right reason? For, that which is conceived in the womb, exults in this its usual locality, fears its departure from it, and lest it should be extracted from internal dark-

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<sup>1</sup> Rom. vii. 24, as in the Peschito.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Cor. x. 3, differing considerably from the Peschito.

<sup>3</sup> Phil. iii. 20, as before.

<sup>4</sup> Heb. xii. 22, cited from memory, apparently.

ness, and weeps when it comes forth to the light. Still even these, did but those things which happen to their natural birth duly take place with them, would come forth from darkness to light, well and elegantly born. Thus would they, at the due time and season, be brought forth, (each)<sup>5</sup> receive the natural air and breath, and bear about him the healthy vigour of man<sup>6</sup>. Thus would (each) be delighted with the provisions of the breast, and of infancy; then be placed under the hands of a nurse, and be delivered over to instructors, teachers, and doctors, until he came forth a man complete. Thus too would he pass a virtuous and honourable life, great in wealth, in the abundance of possessions, in power, rule, and the other stages (of distinction), in the increase of (all) those things which result from a happy birth; of those which multiply by means of instruction, and of those other innumerable things, which conduce to the experience of a happy life.

71. But, if any unnatural contortion should happen to that which is conceived in the womb, so that it affect such an one at his coming forth in birth; What need can there be for my saying, that the infant was distorted within (the womb)? and refused to come forth to the light? and that it must suffer,—by the iron instruments prepared for parturition, which shall violently and painfully be placed upon it,—the revulsion which is also unnatural? Nor would it be worthy even of the one birth,—even of the life of man,—or of the things belonging to this: but, on the contrary, that it should go forth from darkness to darkness, and not only be deprived of the life of man, but also of the name.

72. As are these things, so is he who passes the life which is human on earth, differing in nothing from the irrational and ignorant infant, or, from that

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<sup>5</sup> We have here an abrupt change from the plural to the singular; which I have marked by inserting the term *each*.

<sup>6</sup> Syr. ܘܫܘܪܐ ܕܢܘܫܐ ܕܚܝܘܬܐ, lit. *carry the life of men*: but, as ܘܫܘܪܐ, and its derivatives often signify *vigour*, or the like, I have so translated it here. See my Heb. Lexicon, under חַיָּה. sign. ii.

which is yet, but a foetus in the womb. Nor can he be compared with those bodies which are without, the Angels and Divine spirits. He is even (as) an ignorant child; and, because of the excess of his childishness, he exults in the clothing of the body which is about him; loves the womb his (place of concealment), and knows not the locality which surrounds him, where murder, darkness, and (all) the other species of mishap, feed, as it were, in the pastures of wickedness. One of the ancients says,—when shewing that the air, which is on the earth, is humid and unclear,—that “*it consists of many compounds, (resulting) from the innumerable vapours which (arise) from the earth*’.” One would think too that (man were such), although as an infant good. Nevertheless, if he pass the present life as it is becoming to his nature, and evince accordingly the conduct which is suitable to its law, “*that he think not beyond the measure of his stature,*” nor spurn the nature which has borne him as a mother; nor again, remain ignorant of his Father, but recognize his Father who is in heaven, the common Saviour of all, and render to him the service of thanksgiving, because he has made him to partake in the things which are good;—be brought up in the instruction of righteousness, and previously study in his conversation which is on the earth, the life of heaven; well shall such an one, when he shall depart this mortal life, and shall put off the body, have the Angels of God for his obstetricators;—when he is to be born to the life to come, then shall both the good Powers receive him as the nurse, and the Divine assemblies teach him; that WORD OF GOD too, that teacher of the conversation which is in heaven, shall lead him on, as a dear child, to the completion of every thing that is good, and shall instruct him in the doctrine of the kingdom of heaven. And, when He shall have made him complete and wise, He shall give him up to His Father, the King of all: and shall clothe him, both in body and soul which are (now) incorruptible, with a vesture of light exceeding description.

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<sup>1</sup> Several passages similar to this, though not identical with it, are to be found in Plutarch, and other writers.

So that henceforth, he shall be even for the common advantage of all. Such is the last state of such an one.— But he who exults against the course of his nature, participates in the perversion which is not good, and despises the earth, the mother that bore him; and again, impiously recognizes not THE WORD OF GOD, the common Saviour of all, but subscribes to a multitude of fathers who have no existence, instead of that one who IS; and calls those gods which never had any being, instead of that one who alone is true; and again, wholly plunges in pursuit of the things of this moist, humid and corruptible being, into the filthy and lawless lusts; and this not as the infant, involuntarily; but willingly, and of his free counsel, chooses to himself these vices, and so acts; his latter state shall clearly be but the counterpart of that pointed out by the example (above given). For no happy countenance, or smiling of good Angels, shall greet him; nor, when he goes forth into light, shall the Divine Powers receive him as fosterfathers. On the contrary, endeavouring in his extreme state to escape egress, and to hide himself within, in the concealment of the body and members:—when the dissolution of the body draws near, and he would assume the perversion which is out of nature;—(then) shall those who are appointed to this, forcibly attach themselves to him, and drag him forth. Then too, after his departure hence,—his miserable soul being reduced to sighing and lamentation,—shall he not have the light and life which is good, for his receptacle; but, on the contrary, darkness and the place of corruption. The judgment of God moreover, shall consign him (thus) impure and unclean, as filthy and abominable to the purification<sup>2</sup> and punishment which is by fire: because he would not be instructed by THE WORD (or Reason), nor

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<sup>2</sup> The views of some of the Fathers on this subject were extremely dark and perplexed, out of which evidently grew the *Purgatory* of the Roman Catholics. How far our author partook of this, I have not been able to ascertain. Origen tells us in his 24th Hom. on Luke, that, as John baptized with water, so shall Christ baptize in a river of fire all who shall pass to Paradise; but here, the baptism by water must first have taken place. In this case all must submit to this second purifying baptism. Again, near the end of his 8th book of explanations

adhere to the Divine law, when it was in his power to do so.

73. He therefore, who, in the example (above) was, as an infant conceived in the womb, in every thing so defective, and in every respect so destitute of power, that hitherto he could make no use either of the thoughts of his soul, or the senses of his body;—that mind, indeed, which is hitherto but (as) an infant in man;—may well be said, by way as it were, of experimental comparison with those incorporeal and Divine rational (beings) that are in heaven, to be altogether a child. Even, if (such) were the wisest of men. or even more perfect than those that are on the earth; still he would, when compared in himself, with his (future) perfect state, be nothing better than an infant. For, what his state of excellence shall be when he arrives at manhood, it will be easy thus to shew:—For if, when hitherto (as) an infant, and confined within this unyielding wall of earthly and corruptible being, he bears about him such a faculty of excellence, that he knows, not only the things that are on earth, and fabricates them by art, but also anticipates the life which is in heaven,

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planations of the Epist. to the Romans, he says, that he who spurns the purifications of the Word of God, and of the Gospel-teaching, will reserve himself to the *sad and penal purifications of the fire of hell*: in conformity with the Scripture, “*I will purify thee with fire even to purification.*” (Is. i. 25. Sept.) He goes on to tell us, that, how long this *purifying by fire* with sinners shall continue, He only, to whom the Father hath delivered all judgment, can know: evidently inclining to the notion that it is not eternal. This is however, according to him, one of those things which the Apostle considered as a mystery, and to be held as such by the faithful, secretly within themselves: and, for this he cites “*Mysterium Regis (ut ait Scriptura) celare bonum est.*” (Prov. xxv. 2?). But, who does not see that all this is a miserable perversion of Scripture? See Spencer’s Notes on Origen contra Cels. pp. 47—50: it. p. 77. The Bishop of Lincoln’s Eccl. Hist. illustrated from Tertullian, p. 342. seq. Camb. 1826. Out of this also grew the Mohammedan purgatory, styled *الاعراف*. Elaraf. They have also a Bason (pond), styled *الحوض*, out of which all the faithful are to drink before they enter Paradise. Our author however, does speak also of earthly plagues sent as purifiers. See Book II. §. 86, below: and so does Origen contra Cels. Lib. iv. p. 173, where Plato is cited as using similar phraseology.

and becomes like to God himself; makes too, whenever he pleases, likenesses of the things in the heavens, and of those on the earth;—can do all these things, just as those which have already been recounted<sup>1</sup>:—these (I say), when immersed (as he is) in all this refuse of the body and blood; What then, ought we to suppose he will do, when he shall have proceeded to the perfect measure of man's estate, and shall have been liberated from these injurious bonds of corruption?—these humid and wasting properties of the body? and is made a partaker of the life which is incorruptible, and of a body which is impervious to death? For, if this seed alone of the reasoning faculty be thus all-able and powerful on earth, when as yet it is incapable of rendering the full return (of fruit), but has even been cast forth into the moist locality of the refuse of a corruptible body; it shall henceforth be able (fully) to know, of what sort the return of perfect fruit of this seed shall be as (sown) in the soul, when it shall have been made to partake of an adequate culture; shall have been removed hence, and have been planted in a superior locality, in land good and fertile; where that heavenly WORD, that Sower of all things, and Planter of every good thing, shall receive (back) his own seed, and shall, in the pastures of incorporeal and unembodied souls, as in the Paradise of them who love God, Himself water his own plant, shall nourish it to perfection, and make it arrive at the increase of goods innumerable.

74. You will perceive therefore, the greatness of the complete state of man's superiority, from his changes and increments here, if you will consider, that the infant just born is in no respect superior to the worm; that it cannot, after the manner of the irrational animal, even make use of the bodily senses. Nevertheless this defective, lame, infirm, and thoughtless being, will, when grown in his stature, arrive at all this change and variation in the course of time,—will receive all this superiority, power, and beauty both of body and soul,—so, that should those who begat him see him, they could not distinguish whether this

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<sup>1</sup> See §. 62. seq. above.

were he, who was sown (by them) in the womb, and conceived in darkness:—whether this were he, who came forth out of (this) darkness, to be brought up with milk and the swaddling bands; this,—who is now the man, who in wisdom and knowledge contemplates the whole world;—this, who subjugates every thing that is on the earth. And should any one by comparison, as it were, of the Divine faculty and of the Angels, and of the child just now born, place the complete man in the midst; he would not find a perfect equality as to the child, with respect to the perfect man; and of the perfect man, with respect to the superior power; but, the inferiority of the person of the child to the man, to be much greater, than is the inferiority of the man to the faculty of the Angels. For, the human infant lately born, cannot be compared in its being even with those irrational animals, which may just now be brought forth. But he, who has come out the perfect man, and is contemplated as the friend of God, will henceforward become a partaker in the divine Spirit, and will hold converse with the Angels: will arrive at a love and attachment to the conversation which is in heaven, and will previously prepare himself by purity of life, and the fear of God,—not (placed) at any great distance of limit,—for an equality with the Angels, and will be made a partaker both of (their) life, and superiority: which the Divine Word also shewed, when it said, “*What<sup>1</sup> is man that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man that thou visitest him? Thou hast made him a little lower than the Angels: with honour and glory hast thou crowned him.*”

75. If then the child, when brought up to the (full) stature of his nature, and supplied with the provision and instruction proper for it, receives all this change and variety;—and no one can disbelieve (this) his change, on account of the openness of the experiment;—Why need we wonder, if even this perfectible mind which is in man, such as it is when still in child-

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<sup>1</sup> Ps. viii. 5, 6, differing slightly from the Peschito.

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cellence, it deigns not to draw near with the eyes of the body; nor will it act by any other of its senses. When moreover, it (thus) vigorously shuts itself up, carries itself within, and withdraws to a distance from the things which affect the senses, and are visible; and (when) near only to the body, still turns with the eye of the soul to another quarter, and is itself united with itself; then again, will it avail itself of the mind that is enlightened, and of the recollection which is pure; and will put forth, and nourish for itself, the reason which is unperturbed: and (thus) will every reasoning power exert itself without controul. But, should any of the things which are hurtful suddenly happen to the body, so that a mote should injure the sight of the eyes<sup>1</sup>; immediately would the sight of the soul be disturbed: and, should remissness be given to the body, and the soul partake in the drunkenness, gluttony, lusts, and the rest of its pleasures; (thus) reduced in itself to vice—the corruptible body too domineering over it like a wild and fierce beast, and itself remaining below (as it were) in the depths,—will be filled with error, folly, and every sort of infatuation. What necessity then is there, that we should fear death, which is (only) the determination of the freedom of the soul from the body<sup>2</sup>? And, for What (purpose) is the laying down of that which is faulty? Is it not for receiving the aid of that, which is more excellent? and, that we should confess the lives of those who loved God, then to be in truth, holy and happy, when nothing of an adverse nature shall controul them? If then, while this rational nature continues in this locality,—and resides in this vessel (as it were) on the earth, clothed with a dense and earthly body, not unlike some earthen<sup>3</sup> vessel,

<sup>1</sup> Alluding to Matt. vii. 3, 4, 5: and meaning apparently that, should light be impeded by any means from passing through the natural inlets to the soul, so far must the soul remain unenlightened, and in intellectual darkness.

<sup>2</sup> Plato's "*λύσις καὶ χωρισμὸς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σώματος.*" Phædo. Edit. Lond. p. 183. And so a Poet cited by Plutarch, (de consolat. ad. Apoll. 108. E.)

"*Μηδεὶς φοβείσθω θάνατον ἀπόλυσιν πόνων.*"

<sup>3</sup> Alluding to 2 Cor. iv. 7.

(and) wholly compressed within this its vesture,—it be such that it will mount on high in thought, will mortify the members of the body together with their lusts, by means of patience, and the restraint of the desires; will be hastened, and hastening on, to the life of those that are incorporeal; will separate and deliver itself at all times, by the precepts of wisdom from an admixture with that which is vile; and will ever delight itself beforehand (with the thoughts) that it shall soon submit to death:—if indeed (such) be, at any time, released from the bonds and agitation of wing (common to) the cares and anxieties that are here, and thus fly away in his departure, and change the place on earth, and meet with that which he loved:—how he will then be circumstanced, ask not. For, when he shall receive his body, and shall have changed his nature from corruption to incorruption; his shall be a conversation which is equal to that of the Angels in heaven: in the semblance of light, and of the sun-beam, shall he be; and of the form, in which even the Angels of God live; and, as reason with probability holds, he shall partake at once in their superiority and immortality<sup>4</sup>.

76. For, just as the form (assigned) to the seed which falls upon the earth, is given for many: the WORD<sup>5</sup>, which is called the seed, now secretly exerting itself within the same seed, but silently after the manner of a spark confined within some dense body;—and (as) this same seed, when it shall fall to the earth, and its dense clothing which encircles

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<sup>4</sup> Much to the same effect Plato, Phædo. Edit. Lond. p. 178. seq. So also Clemens Alexand. (Strom. Lib. v. p. 746.).. “ὁ δὲ, καὶ μετ’ ἀγγέλων εὐχεται, ὡς αὐτὸς ἤδη καὶ ἰσαγγελοσ, οὐοε ἐξω ποτε της ἀγίας φρουρᾶς γίνεται, καὶ μόνος εὐχεται, τὸν τῶν ἀγγέλων χορὸν συνιστάμενον ἔχει.”...“Quinetiam precatur cum Angelis, ut qui jam sit etiam æqualis Angelis, neque est unquam extra sanctam custodiam, et licet oret solus, habet chorum Angelorum una assistentem.”

<sup>5</sup> Syr. Ⲓⲗⲟⲩ. Castell, among other things, gives “Causa.” But, as our Author considers Christ, or the WORD, the efficient cause of this property in seeds, plants, and the like, as well as of the reason implanted in man; I have accordingly given THE WORD, in translating it, in order to preserve this notion. See also Book iv. §. 25. where this argument is again touched upon.

it from without shall dissolve through corruption;—then will it shew itself to be lively (vigorous), put in motion the power that is vested within it, and take of the material which is beneath it: then too will it begin to act, and assume its lively (energetic) nature: its old dense clothing, which is without, will it also cast off, and put on the new, which is greatly its superior;—

77. So also is the nature of the rational faculty, which is in man, (circumstanced), that it is now bound up in a corruptible body, and of its own power acts but feebly. But, should it be freed from the corruption which surrounds it, and receive (as a possession) the locality which is in heaven, and henceforth be sown and planted (as it were) in the society which (is far) beyond it, and be fitted for the clothing of heaven and of the Angels;—of what sort it shall be, when it shall partake of the life that is pure, and shall be freed from a participation in mortality, it is neither becoming in me, nor necessary for me, to say: for this will be obvious to all who can see, from the example (given). For the whole of the wheat (seed) is not subject to corruption: it is only the part that is without which perishes, when it falls to the earth: while that concealed word and living power which is within it, lives and remains; and the excellence which is of this is such, that it will give forth vigorous corn-ears. Of plants too, the same is the WORD (invigorating cause), and so it is with every sort of seed. And, Shall man alone be wholly and in every thing subject to corruption, when released by death<sup>1</sup>? And, Shall the clothing which is without, at once and together with that WORD which resides within him, cede to corruption? And, as to the knowledge which is incorporeal,—that which partakes in all these powers; that, which on account of its superiority, is likened to God himself;—Shall it not be (considered) even as one of those seeds which fall to the earth? or rather greatly (their) superior? for it is not the beard, nor yet the blade, but those mature and fat corn-ears of his superiority, which he shall give forth. Then, when he shall be taken away

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<sup>1</sup> It was one of the errors of Tatian, that he believed the soul partook of the matter of the body: Orat. contra Græcos, p. 169. B. seq. Edit.

from the corruption which is of the earth, and shall have been delivered as from bonds, and shall not imprudently have bartered the conversation which is in heaven, for that on the earth; and, when he shall be at the side of God; (then) shall he in truth render as the Angels do, the fruits which are acceptable to God: those (I say), the seed and power of which he possessed from ancient times in a mortal body, and contained as it were in an oven<sup>2</sup>.

78. All these things having been said for the purpose of shewing, that the essence which is in man is intelligent and rational; let us now proceed in our discourse to those consequent upon them. Had man then, brought up as he is in the conversation that is on earth, (but) known his own greatness, and continued careful of the teaching which is of God; there could have no impediment happened to him, that when taken hence, he should not delight himself in a conversation like that of the Angels, and take part in the life which is in the kingdom of his Father who is in heaven. But, because it is not one man, nor two, nor is the multitude small;—on the contrary, it is the whole rational family on earth which has received the power to govern self—(and) because his nature, which has received the seed of the kingdom from the DIVINE WORD the King, is free<sup>3</sup>; (nevertheless) he has not well availed himself of his power; but has, by means of the subsidiary arts, laboured in all vain glory,

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<sup>2</sup> Syr.  $\mu\omicron\lambda\iota\beta$ . Ovens in the East are not unlike large stone jars, as may be seen in Mr. Taylor's Fragments to his Edition of Calmet's Dictionary, No. cix. Plate 38. fig. 5. Edit. 1838. The allusion, made to the spark of fire, in the last section, is perhaps intended to be kept up here, with the notion of a silent process going on, as in baking any thing in an oven.

<sup>3</sup> This argument is admirably prosecuted in the Prep. Evang. Lib. vi. p. 245. seq. Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. v. p. 613. it. ib. p. 588. It. Origen. Philocal. pp. 59. 94. Edit. Spenceri. Theodoret. Index. Tom. iv. sub. vocibus, "*Libertas*" and "*et Liberum arbitrium.*" &c. Tatian says on it, (Orat. contra Græcos, near the beginning)... "*τῆ δε ελευθερία τῆς προαιρέσεως ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκτελειούμενον, ὅπως ὁ μὲν φᾶυλος δικαίως κολάζηται δι' αὐτὸν γεγωνῶς μοχθηρός.*" κ.τ.λ. Relicta est autem humano generi voluntas libera, ut in improbos jure animadvertatur, &c.

after those other things, which impel men to the bodily desires, and are advantageous to life; has become skilful in agriculture, in the building of ships, in merchandise, and in the purchasing of possessions: nor (this) only, but he has also become great from every quarter, in the abundant increase of the wealth which puts forth no zeal against any kind of lust. All these things however, which conduce to the salvation of the soul, and to that life of righteousness which is well-pleasing to God; all these, (I say,) has he annihilated in his mind from their very roots; has disregarded his own excellency, and that of the race of his brethren who are in heaven, and has honoured, through the freedom of his will, those abominable bodily lusts, more than (this) his own greatness: of the righteousness of his Father who is in heaven, and of His praise, he has also been unmindful. These irrational itchings and delusions of childhood has he chosen: these which the fools of childhood usually do, who fly from the instruction and careful training of those who would enlarge their minds; extravagantly to honour the things which are sweet for the present, but which corrupt at once both the body and soul; and to hunt out for themselves the error and foolish knowledge of that voluptuousness, which is too vain to be conceived. All mankind being then, thus (circumstanced), the Increment of wickedness, that envious (being), the hater of every good, and deceiver as to every thing lovely, in conjunction with the wicked Demons, became their waylayer: this same, in his wicked zeal, prepared the nets, and snares, and riches,—the abundant means of every sort (of sin,)—against the salvation of all; and so drove them down from above into the depths of evil, that none on earth could see, but transgressed the law of their nature: and (thus), the germ of wickedness, instead of the seed of excellence, sprung up<sup>1</sup> within them; and he that was more peaceful, more wise, and more rational, than all that were on the earth, so fell into the last stage of brutality and irrationality, that one of those beloved of God

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<sup>1</sup> Syr.  $\text{ܩܕܝܫܐ ܫܘܒܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ}$ , which is ambiguous, and might also mean, *has honoured out of his greatness*: i. e. by means of his greatness, wealth, influence, or the like.

wept over this overthrow of their fall, and cried out saying ;  
 “ *Man understood not his own honour ; but was given up  
 to be as the brute<sup>2</sup>, and became assimilated to it.*”

79. On these accounts therefore, a mighty Saviour, greater than any son of man, was evidently needful to them. And such is He who anxiously undertook to provide for all, THE WORD OF GOD: He who has, like a good and loving Father, shewn by deeds His providential care over the rational souls that are on the earth ; and who hastened, in the mission of Himself, to the call, and for the healing, of those who were thus fallen and perishing.

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<sup>2</sup> Ps. xlix. 21. according to the Peschito, except that we have  $\int\grave{\text{א}}\text{ב}$ , instead of  $\int\text{אב}$ : but differing slightly from the Septuagint, as it also does from the sense of the Hebrew.

*The End of the First Discussion (Book) of (Eusebius)  
 of Cæsarea.*

## BOOK II.

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### THE SECOND BOOK AGAINST THE PHILOSOPHERS.

1. THE human race, O my friends, stood (thus) in need of God the Saviour: and God alone was the helper, who could give abundance to those who had suffered loss, and life to them who had become subject to death. The advent therefore of God, and the divine manifestation of the common Saviour of all;—of him who arose (as the sun) upon mankind was necessary, because all that was upon the earth, had, through the insanity (inculcating) a plurality of gods, and the envy and solicitation of demons, become corrupted to the last stage of vice, and (immersed) in the depth of ungodly error.

2. But again, that the cause of the Divine manifestation of the common Saviour of all among men, might the better be known, let us first of all speak on the great fall of the human race, on their lawless wickedness and iniquity: and then let us pass on to the hidden mysteries of the doctrine of this divine Revelation.

3. For, it was not as some disease which (lay) on man, and was mighty as opposed to every other; but it was, that the evil <sup>1</sup>Demon so led, and ruled over, the whole human race, like a pestilence that is mortal, (and) far surpassing every thing that is (generally) evil and hateful, that he drove him who was more peaceful than any other being, to the last stage of brutality; and him who was rational, to that of being the most irrational of all. Hence it was that men, in the blindness of their souls, recognized not the God who is over

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<sup>1</sup> This, according to our author, *Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. ix.* is the person spoken of, *Is. xiv. 12.* That the king of Babylon is here primarily meant, there can be no doubt: but whether the “common enemy” of man is secondarily, may be matter of debate.

<sup>2</sup> We now come again to certain passages in the *Orat. de laudd. Constantini*, identical with some in this work. *Cap. xiii. pp. 531, D. 532, &c.* See also *Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. x.*

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5. But, they also made Gods of the earthy nature of the fruits of the earth, and of the provisions intended for the bodies of every kind (of animal, and named them) <sup>1</sup> Ceres, <sup>2</sup> Proserpine, <sup>3</sup> Bacchus: and, of other things allied to these, they made Idols: nor did they confine themselves to these<sup>4</sup>,—

6. But, they hesitated not to call the cogitative faculty of their minds, and their reason, which is the interpreter of of these, also Gods. Their faculty of thought they named <sup>5</sup> Minerva, and their speech <sup>6</sup> Mercury. The powers inventive of moral doctrines, they called <sup>7</sup> Memory, and the <sup>8</sup> Muses: nor did they confine themselves to these things,—

7. But, increasing in manifold impiety and the excess of wickedness, they made themselves Gods of their own passions; which it was becoming they should have put away, and have cured by the effort of pure reason:—of their lust, their baser infirmities and passions; of their grosser members also fitted for corrupt acts, and of the different parts of the body. And again <sup>9</sup>, the appetency to the intemperate

<sup>1</sup> Syr. ܩܪܝܫܬܐ, Gr. Δημήτραν. *Demeter, or Ceres.* Diod. Sicul. Lib. i. xii. Γῆ μήτηρ, πάντων Δημήτηρ πλουτοδότειρα. See the Note, Ed. Wesseling.

<sup>2</sup> Syr. ܩܪܝܫܬܐ, Gr. Κορην. *Proserpine*, the daughter of Jupiter and Ceres. See the Prep. Evang. Lib. iii. cap. xiii. p. 119. D. et seq.

<sup>3</sup> Syr. ܩܪܝܫܬܐ, Gr. Διονυσον. *Bacchus.* Orat. de laudd. Constant. cap. xiii. p. 531. D.

<sup>4</sup> Orat. de laudd. Constant. cap. xiii. p. 531. D.

<sup>5</sup> Syr. ܩܪܝܫܬܐ. Gr. Ἀθηναν. *Minerva.* According to the Egyptians, the Air, and daughter of Jupiter. Diod. Sicul. Lib. i. cap. xii.

<sup>6</sup> Syr. ܩܪܝܫܬܐ. Gr. Ἑρμῆν. *Mercury.*

<sup>7</sup> Syr. ܩܪܝܫܬܐ. Gr. Μνημοσύνην. *Memory, “Monetam.”*

<sup>8</sup> Syr. ܩܪܝܫܬܐ. Gr. Μούσας. *Muses.* Orat. de laudd. Constant. cap. xiii. p. 532. A. seq. This subject is prosecuted rather more at length by Theodoret, Gr. affect. curat. Serm. iii. Tom. iv. p. 514. seq. where many of the expressions of our author are evidently copied. See also Clemens Alexan. Admonitio ad Gentes, p. 16. seq. Ed. 1629; and, ib. p. 19, he gives us the real history of these Muses.

<sup>9</sup> The Gr. has, ἐπι τῆ, κ.τ.λ. which Valesius thinks should be καὶ ἐπι τῆν... ἀκράτειαν: which the Syriac supports.



10. But, they also cut down trees<sup>1</sup>, and hewed the rocks: the metals too of the earth, brass, iron, and other matter, they sought out, and formed into the appearances of women, forms of men, and into the likenesses of wild beasts, and of reptiles; and to these again they gave the name of Gods<sup>2</sup>! nor did they confine themselves to these,—

11. But, they also ministered, by means of libations and the fumes of sacrifices, to the evil demons which had insinuated themselves into these same images<sup>3</sup>, which had been set up in the innermost recesses of darkness; and to them they gave the name of Gods! nor did they confine themselves to these,—

12. But, they also drew over to themselves, by means of the ties<sup>4</sup> of those who used abominable incantations, by

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ut Argo, ut Aram, ut Coronam. Sed, ut hæc concedantur, reliqua qui tandem non modo concedi, sed omnino intelligi possunt? Cum fruges, Cererem; vinum, Liberum dicimus, genere nos quidem sermonis, utimur usitato: sed equem tam amentem esse putas, qui illud, quo vescatur, Deum credat esse?"

<sup>1</sup> Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. B. See also Clemens Alexandr. Admonitio ad Gentes, p. 34. seq.

So Horace Serm. Lib. i. Sat. viii. 1. "Olim truncus eram," &c. Athenagoras Legat. pro Christ. p. 66, gives an admirable account of the first Images, and Image-makers, among the Greeks.

<sup>2</sup> The Greek has (Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. C.) instead of this: "καπειτα τουτοις τιμας περιτεθεικασι." Cultumque posthac iis exhibuerunt."

<sup>3</sup> So Tertullian, Eccles. Hist. of the second and third centuries, by the Bishop of Bristol, Cambridge, 1826, p. 216. An Image among Idolaters is nothing, until consecrated and a Deity supposed to reside within it. They are then considered as *Temples*. (هناكل, Pocock. spec. Hist. Arab. pp. 91, 144, seq.) or *Chapels* of the Deity. From the following passage of Lactantius (Lib. ii. cap. xviii. p. 163,) it is obvious, that Images could not have had place in the Church:..."non est dubium, quin religio nulla sit, ubicunque simulacrum est. Nam si religio ex divinis rebus est; divini autem nihil est, nisi in cœlestibus rebus; carent ergo religione simulacra, quia nihil potest esse cœleste in ea re, quæ fit ex terra." ...Quicquid enim simulatur, id falsum sit necesse est: nec potest unquam vere nomen accipere, quod veritatem fuco et imitatione mentitur.

<sup>4</sup> See sect. 63. Book i.—Gr. (Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib.) "καταδέσμοις;" which, as Valesius shews, ib. notes, p. 255, is a term applied to magical usages. See this note. See also the Prep. Evang. Lib. vi. cap. ix. p. 271. C.

songs and other forcible and lawless enchantments, those invisible Demons<sup>5</sup> and Powers which fly in the air: and again, they availed themselves of these, as abettors of the error of the deities, which they had (so) fabricated. And thus did they set up mortal men, as the Gods of others. For the Greeks honoured Bacchus, Hercules, Æsculapius, Apollo, and other men, with the names of Gods and Demigods; while the Egyptians<sup>6</sup> imagined of Horus, Isis, Osiris, and again of other men such as these, that they were Gods. Nor did their wise men, who are boasted of for their excessive wisdom, and the invention of Geometry, Astrology, and Arithmetic, know or understand how to weigh or to discriminate in their minds, between the distinguishing measure of the Divine power, and that of irrational mortal nature. On this account, they hesitated not to give the name of Gods, to every frightful image of the animals; to every sort of untamed beast, and reptile; and to the fiercest animals. The Phenicians too, named<sup>7</sup> Malkuthrudun,

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<sup>5</sup> Lactantius (Lib. II. cap. xiv.) says of these, that they were originally Angels sent from Heaven to protect and govern men; but, falling into lust through the temptations of Satan, they at length became his ministers: which has evidently been taken from the Jews. See the Targums on Gen. vi. 2. He further tells us, that the Grammarians say they are so called, as being *δαημονες*, i. e. *knowing*. Such is, I think the

*Boot* (بوت, originally *Boodhi*, *wise*) of the East, to this day.—Hesiod also makes them *the guardians of men*, “*φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.*” (Oper. et Dies. Lib. I. 122.). This opinion prevails still in the East: and it is affirmed, that whole regions are subjected to their controul, as may be seen in the Dabistan, the Hakk olyakeen (حق الفس), and many other Persic and Arabic works. Lactantius tells us, a little lower down, from Hermes Trismegistus, that piety, consisting in the knowledge of the true God, was sufficient to save men from their evil influence. Porphyry tells us (Prep. Evang. Lib. v. cap. x. p. 197. and Theodoret, Gr. affect. curat. Ed. Gaisford. p. 131.) that they are all evil Demons: their Chief being Sarapis, i. e. Pluto, or Hecate; and (Prep. Evang. ib.) much the same is said by Anebo the Egyptian.

<sup>6</sup> See Prep. Evang. Lib. I. cap. x.: II. cap. i. Diodor. Sicul. Lib. I. x—xiii. Lactant. Lib. I. cap. viii—xv. who prosecutes this argument at much length, and gives us even the philosophical Cicero deifying his own daughter!

<sup>7</sup> Syr. ܡܠܟܘܬܪܘܕܘܢ, Gr. *Μελίκαρθος*, the Phœnician Hercules according to Sanchoniathon, Prep. Evang. Lib. I. cap. x. p. 38. In the Orat.

<sup>1</sup> Ousurun, and other mortal men more contemptible than these Gods; while the Arabians did the same to <sup>2</sup> Dusarin, and <sup>3</sup> Oubadon; the Getæ (Goths), to <sup>4</sup> Zalmacûsin: the Cilicians, to <sup>5</sup> Mopsus; the Thebans, to <sup>6</sup> Amphiaraus. And with others, again, others,—who differed in no respect from mortals, but were in truth men only,—they also honoured with the name of Gods.

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Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 532. it is written Μελλάβαρον. The word has been greatly deformed by the Copyists in our text. See the note of Valesius to the above place, cap. xiii. p. (notes) 255.

<sup>1</sup> ܐܘܨܘܪܘܢ, Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 533. Οὐσωρον. Prep. Evang. p. 35. Οὐσων.

<sup>2</sup> Syr. ܕܘܨܐܪܝܢ, Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 533, Δούσαρις: the Δυσάρης of the Greek and Latin writers, as noted by Bochart, and, after him, by Pococke, Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 106, and which he thinks is the Arabic ذُو الشَّرَا *Dhushara*, or Bacchus. See also the note of Valesius ad cap. xiii. Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 255.

<sup>3</sup> Syr. ܐܘܒܐܕܘܢ. Probably the Ὀβοδ, *Uranus* of Stephen of Byzantium, as cited by Pococke Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 137, &c. and variously accounted for by him. The passage is found in “Euseb. Orat. de laudd. Constant.” p. 532—3. Ὀβδον. But see the note of Valesius on this place, ib. p. 255, which is full and valuable.

<sup>4</sup> Syr. ܙܐܠܡܘܨܝܢ. Gr. Ζάλμοξις, or Ζάμολξις. See Vossius de Idololatria, Lib. i. cap. xxxix. Herodot. iv. 94. and Photius. The *Zalmoxis* or *Zamolxis*, of the Getæ. The Syriac does not support the conjecture (παῖδες) of Valesius here. In these cases, the Syriac Translator seems to have taken the termination of the Greek accusative case.

<sup>5</sup> Syr. ܡܘܦܨܘܨ. Gr. Μοψος. Ovid. Metam. viii. 350. termed *Ampycides*, as being the son of *Ampycus*. It. ib. xii. 456. 528. See also Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 533. Μόψιον, and the note of Valesius.

<sup>6</sup> Syr. ܐܘܦܗܝܐܪܘܨܝܢ. Gr. Ἀμφιάρεων. Laudd. Constant. ib. See the Odyss. O. 244. Hor. Od. iii. 16. Cic. de Nat. Deor. ii. 3. Ovid. Ex. Pont. Epist. Lib. iii. l. 52. &c. Euseb. laudd. Constant. Ἀμφιάρεων. Valesius. note ib. Ἀμφιάρεω. The Trojans also, according to Athenagoras, worshipped Hector and Helen, the Lacedemonians Agamemnon, and Phylonæ: and so of others. Legat pro Christianis, at its commencement, So ib. p. 60. Again, ib. p. 63, he gives us the story of the mundane egg; which identifies this mythology, with that of the Brahmins of Hindustan. So also Theophilus ad Autolyicum, Lib. ii., who refers to the “Aves” of Aristophanes as his authority: p. 116. it. Clemens Alexand. Admonitio ad Gentes. p. 35. seq.

13. The whole of the Egyptians, therefore, at once with the Phenicians and the Greeks, (thus) availed themselves, contrary to humanity, of every mortal species,—even as the rising of the sun illuminates (all) the portions of the universe,—of the very elements, of the fruits<sup>7</sup> which grow out of the earth, even of their own passions<sup>8</sup>; and again, even of the madness of demons, and (other) delusions; and before these, of mortal men<sup>9</sup>! Nor did they set up, during their lifetimes, the doctrine which is excellent; nor did they point out to men, the instruction which attends purity of life; nor did they shew forth the requirements of (true) philosophy, or discover the practices favourable (to this): nor did they leave behind themselves any disciples of their superiority, or deliver either precepts or writings conducing to happiness of life<sup>10</sup>. On the contrary, they busied themselves with women, and the baser lusts; and, as it happened,—I know not by what error of the participation in the deeds of Demons,—they named (these) Gods and Demigods, and honoured (them) with sacrifices, and services (connected) with the error of enchanters! They also built Fanes and Temples (to these) both in the cities and villages: but Him who alone is beyond the universe, THE WORD OF GOD in verity, the King of all, and Maker of all, they set at nought!

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<sup>7</sup> The Greek text, *Orat. de laudd. Constant.* is defective here, as Valesius has properly remarked, and as some of the MSS. have intimated by inserting the word “*λείπει.*” (p. 533. and 255 notes).

<sup>8</sup> . . . “*Quod si ita est, Cœli quoque parentes Dii habendi sunt, Æther, et Dies, eorumque fratres et sorores, qui a genealogis antiquis sic nominantur, Amor, Dolor, Metus, Labor, Invidia, Fatum, Senectus, Mors, Tenebræ, Miseria, Querela, Gratia, Fraus, Pertinacia, Parcæ, Hesperides, Somnia; quos omnes Erebo et Nocte natos ferunt. Aut hæc monstra probanda sunt, aut prima illa tollenda.*” *Cic. de Nat. Deor.* iii. 17.”

<sup>9</sup> “*Ergo hi Dii sunt habendi, mortalibus nati matribus? (sc. Apollo, Vulcanus, Mercurius, Hercules, Æsculapius, Bacchus, &c.)* *Cic. ib.* c. 18. *Comp. Clemens. Alexand. Admon. ad Gentes.* p. 18. *seq.*”

<sup>10</sup> “*Jam vero quid vos illa delectat explicatio fabularum, et enodatio nominum? exsectum a filio Cœlum, vinctum itidem a filio Saturnum? &c.,* *Cic. ib.* iii. 24. From passages of this sort, occurring in the profane authors, it should seem, that the best informed of those times were growing weary of the follies of heathenism. Nevertheless they adhered to these errors, and even defended them: for which Lactantius, very properly castigates them, and Cicero in particular, *Lib. ii. ii.*

These same multiplied all this, in the madness and corruption of (their) mind, to such an extent, that they forthwith called any men, with whom they happened to meet, Gods; and immediately attached themselves to these same passions of mortals! And to these did they ascribe lawless adulteries, abominable deeds, and perverse lives and deaths. Nor did these things come from others, so that they could say these were their calumniators; but they themselves are the witnesses of these things, confessing the error, the sorrows, the deaths; and prior to these, the adulteries, the corruptions, of men (with men), and the rapes of women<sup>1</sup>. Nevertheless, they filled all their cities, villages, and (other) places, with the Fanes, Images, and Temples (of these)!

14. Nor<sup>2</sup> was it this only, but also, from the speeches which they made about their Gods, they received every provision for the life which was lawless and base; and, in the first place, corrupted by every sort of abomination, at once both their souls and bodies. And, that such were the things which they did, when assimilating themselves to their Deities, we can readily shew from this, that the Phenicians our neighbours, as we ourselves have seen, are busied with these things, even now, in Baalbeck; the ancient injurious excesses and corrupting paths of vice, being persevered in there, even to this time; so, that the women there enter not into the bands of lawful marriage, until they have been first corrupted in a way contrary to law, and have been made to partake in the lawless services of the mysteries of Venus<sup>3</sup>. Now indeed, this city<sup>4</sup> alone

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<sup>1</sup> Gr. “γυναικῶν τε ἀρπαγὰς ὁμολογοῦντες:” the stealing of women, which proved the cause of so many wars in ancient times. Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 533. A. B.

<sup>2</sup> The Greek text of the Orat. de laudd. Constant. leaves us here; but recurs to this passage, ib. p. 534. D.

<sup>3</sup> The most famous instances of this sort was, perhaps, afforded by the Temple of Venus in Cyprus; to which people resorted from all quarters. A similar usage obtained among the Babylonians. Herodot. i. 199.

<sup>4</sup> Syr. ܐܘܪܫܠܝܡ, as if in the plural number: this, however, the context will not bear: but, as the double point (ribbui of the Syr. Gramm.) is occasionally used in this work where no *plural* number can be meant, I have thought it right to preserve it. This remark must suffice for all such instances.

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the common mind of all, placing under an irrational Fate<sup>1</sup>, and natural necessity, the constitution and essence of every thing. They led too, the lives of beasts, even the life which was no life. Nor did they enquire into the essence of the soul, or think on the righteous judgments of God. The victory attendant on virtue, they never called to mind, nor again, the punishment due to a wicked life.

17. Nor was it this alone, but they also ran as herds into the midst of the theatres, old and young together; mothers with their sons and daughters; and, conformably with the doings (there), they contracted every base and intemperate disposition. Men and women too, being (thus) congregated together, became at once filled with intoxication~ (as it were) and lasciviousness! How then, could they do that which was good, when they stored not their hearing by listening to words that were pure, inculcating the fear of God? and applied not their eyes for the advantage of their souls? but (the hearing), to the instruction of sentiments that were base; and the sight, to the representation of every (sort) of lasciviousness? For, things such as these, were those which (were presented) to the sight; (and), on which whole multitudes so fixed their attention, that in them (was evinced) the maddened excitement of the stallion, the vile pleasure (felt) over those devoured by wild beasts; (the excite-

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*immortali procreatos.*" Nor, according to Cicero himself, were the philosophers in any respect better. Compare the first few sections of the work, *De Natura Deorum*. To the same effect, Porphyry in the *Prep. Evang.* Lib. iv. cap. xxii. p. 172. D. And *ib.* Lib. xii. cap. xlix. p. 618. Origen *contra Cels.* Lib. vii. p. 360. Plato in his *Republics*, Lib. x.—Much of this noxious sort of matter is to be found in some of the Classic authors still extant, and which are too often put into the hands of our youth, e. g. The *Comedies* of Plautus, Terence, and Aristophanes; the *Epigrams*, &c. of Martial and Ausonius, &c.—See Theophilus *ad Autolyceum*, Lib. iii. p. 142. seq.

<sup>1</sup> See the Index to the *Prep. Evang.* sub voce "*Fatum.*"—*Orat. de laudd.* Constant. Cap. xiii. p. 535. A. B. with some discrepancies.

<sup>2</sup> Our author had, perhaps, the passage in Clemens Alexand. here in his eye. (*Pædag.* Lib. ii. cap. iv. init.) "*ατεχνως γαρ, ως εμοὶ δοκεῖ, θέατρον μέθης τὸ τοιοῦτον γίνεται συμπόσιον:*" as if intoxication were considered as attending on the theatres.

ment) of grains of corn parched<sup>3</sup> (by the fire); (or over) those killed in the lion-hunt; but not (any feeling) belonging to human beings! And again, the impudent laugh (set up) at the vilest things; the intense and foolish desire excited by the music; the lascivious shows personating women; and the loud uproar set up at the songs! For these, indeed, and such like things, were immense multitudes of the ignorant inhabitants brought together, with those who were their Princes, their Generals, and their Governours, and became saturated (as it were) with the corruptions which debase the soul<sup>4</sup>.

18. Nor was it this only, but they also built seminaries of the precepts of ungodliness both among the (country) people, and in the cities<sup>5</sup>. Instead of the precepts of righteousness, and those which were advantageous to the world; and, instead of the doctrine which was pure, and the love of God; they received into the memory,—through the impious babblings of the poets, in which there were

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<sup>3</sup> Syr.  $\int\text{L}\text{a};\text{a}$   $\text{L}\text{L}\text{ö}\text{o}$ ;  $\int\text{L}\text{a};\text{a}$  should perhaps, be the reading of the second word here. The meaning of our author probably is, that the excitement received at these exhibitions was not unlike that—together with the other things here mentioned,—witnessed in corn parched by a sharp fire: i. e. by having an unnatural stimulus applied, evinced an unnatural action. The whole place however, is obscure.

<sup>4</sup> So Tatian (Orat. contra Græcos, p. 176. C. seq.) “τί θαυμαστόν, ἢ παρ’ ὑμῖν ἐξηρημένον διαπράττεται; ῥιναυλοῦσι τὰ αἰσχροῦ, κινουῦνται δὲ κινήσεις ἃς οὐκ ἔχρην, καὶ τοὺς ὅπως δεῖ μοιχεύειν ἐπὶ τῆς σκηπῆς σοφιστεύοντας αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν καὶ οἱ παῖδες θεωροῦσι.” κ. τ. λ. “Quid obsecro fit apud vos egregium, aut admiratione dignum? Obscœna verba naso resonante effutiunt, et motus indecentes moventur, et adulteriorum in scena magistros filiæ et filii vestri spectant,” &c. See the notes to sect. 13 above; some good remarks on this subject will be found, cited from Porphyry, in the Prep. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. xxii. p. 172. D. From Plato, ib. Lib. xii. 49. D. seq. In Theodoret, Gr. affect. curatio, Serm. iii. Tom. iv. p. 511. D. seq. See also Theophilus ad Antolyicum, Lib. iii. p. 149. D. where an admirable lesson to Christians will be found on this point.

<sup>5</sup> So Eph. iv. 18, 19. “*Having the understanding darkened, being alienated from the life of God...being past feeling, have given themselves over unto lasciviousness, to work all uncleanness with greediness.*” Plato seems to have held much the same opinion on these matters, see the place just pointed out. See also Clemens Alexand. Admon. ad Gentes. p. 39. seq.

corrupt recitations, and stories about their male and female deities,—passions filled with every thing shameful, as well as hard sufferings<sup>1</sup>, differing in nothing from (those of) mortal nature; (I say), through the instruction and study of the lying writings of the Dramatists, both tragic and comic, these things, corrupting and injurious (as they were) of life, they first sowed in their own souls, and afterwards in those of the young. And accordingly, (through) the iniquity, which was the first<sup>2</sup> and last of every other,—which was, at once and entirely, that of all men, of Princes and Subjects, of the Sovereigns of nations, of Lawgivers, of Armies, of the Inhabitants both of villages and cities, among both Greeks and Barbarians;—the praise which was due, and was suitable to Him alone who is King of all, they perversely gave to that which was adverse (to Him), and called the demons that had corrupted them, (their) Gods! They sang hymns moreover, to earthly and wicked spirits, to the inanimate elements, and to the sensible portions of the universe! And (thus), the companies of the rational animals which were on the earth, rendered not the praise of the officiating priest; nor, with their brethren who are in heaven, the holy Angels and Divine Spirits,—those who praise the King of all,—did they render praise, the praise (I say) which is proper for such: but, on the contrary, they sang, both in their feasts and festivals, that which was foreign to propriety, and was unsuitable, to those seducing Spirits which had led the world astray! To them too they gave the honour of worship; insomuch,

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<sup>1</sup> Such for example, as the labours of Hercules; and, in the present day, those of Buddha, Rama, &c. as abounding in the poetic fictions of the Buddhists, Hindoos, and others. Cicero was so much impressed with the absurdities put forth by the Philosophers, that he confesses, that although he is most willing to receive the truth, yet he doubts, whether it is at all to be found without much admixture of error. His words are, (De Natura Deorum, 1, 5.) “Non enim sumus ii, quibus nihil verum esse videtur, sed ii, qui omnibus veris falsa quædam adjuncta esse dicamus, tanta similitudine, ut in iis nulla insit certa judicandi et assentiendi nota.” Plato’s opinions on these foolish and abominable stories may be seen in Gaisford’s Edit. of Theodoret. Gr. affect. curat. p. 121. seq. Prep. Evang. Lib. II. cap. vii.

<sup>2</sup> Syr. ܦܫܘܥ, which should, probably, be ܦܫܘܥܘܢ.

that henceforth, the whole element of the earth, uniformly with all nations throughout the whole of creation, became nothing better than the vessel in the storm, whose entire and violent wreck in the extreme depths of perdition, is momentarily threatened!

19. Much therefore, on account of all these things, was God the Saviour and (only) helper, needed by mankind. Had some societies only been led to this state of error, the evil would indeed have been (but) small. But now, the Princes of cities, the Leaders of the nations, the Kings of countries, the Heads of territories, and the Honourable<sup>3</sup> of the nations, had at once become fully, and completely, diseased in this same error of Demons, and of a plurality of Gods. And behold! again, even those,—who boasted themselves among the Greeks of (their) philosophy, and made the profession, that in them was knowledge superior to any that was in the many; were pompous in the streets, swelling with pride, and casting their mantles loosely about them; had wandered in the great and wide earth; had freely taken from other nations this magnificence of doctrine about things; from this place, geometry; from another quarter, arithmetic; and again from another place, music, the art of healing, and those other things, which have their being in rational experiment<sup>4</sup>: for, these things, and others like them, they

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<sup>3</sup> The Syriac term used here, (ܩܘܪܕܢܐܘܬܐ.) I have not been able to find in any Syriac dictionary or writer. From the context it should signify something like the preceding, ܩܘܪܕܢܐܘܬܐ, *leaders, governors*, or the like. If it is a compound however, it may have been formed of ܩܘܪܐ, *pars, sors, &c.* and ܩܘܪܢܐܘܬܐ, which Castell renders, "*pondus*" 255 *librarum*, and cites Bar Bahlul as his authority. The Arab. قرض signifies the same thing. And, as words signifying weight, as *weight, gravity, grave*, and the like, are often used to intimate *respect*: I have thought it likely, that something of this sort must be the sense here.

<sup>4</sup> See the Prep. Evang. Lib. x. cap. i. seq. it. Lib. xiv. cap. ix. p. 740. Also Tatiani contra Græcos Oratio. in its outset, and Theodoret Gr. affect. curat. Serm. i. For a general account of the Philosophers and their chronological succession, see the Prep. Evang. Lib. x. cap. xiv. Diog.





of those were who arose as Philosophers of the school of Epicurus and Democritus, and as was the whole traditionary (doctrine) of those amongst the Greeks,—was that of (this) life. And, being thus eminent, they approached the multitudes; at one time, walking to the temples with the inhabitants (generally); at another, shewing themselves to be those who feared the Gods; because of the fear of punishment (otherwise to be expected) from the law<sup>1</sup>. But such were these, who contended for *Rest* (as the extreme good).

20. Others too, fixed the limits of Providence as far off as the moon<sup>2</sup>; the company of those too, who were of the school of Aristotle, excluded it from every other portion of the world: which same also, determined the extreme good to be, neither Virtue, nor Philosophy, unless indeed, it happened to be attended by wealth of possession<sup>3</sup>, abundance of gold and of silver, Family, and and the glory which takes with the many! And, What could hinder such from boasting themselves in these things? —men, who had shut up, as with bolts and doors at the distance of the moon, the Providence which is over all? or, that they should affirm, that the intelligent and

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<sup>1</sup> Such, according to Plutarch, was Euripides the tragic Poet; not daring openly to profess his notions, through fear of the Areopagus. *De Placit. Philos.* p. 880. Vol. II.

<sup>2</sup> Much the same thing is said by Athenagoras, *Legat. pro Christ.* p. 71. D. and in the *Prep. Evang. Lib. xv. cap. v. p. 798.* ...“καὶ Πλάτωνος τούτοις συμφώνως, τὸν περὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων προνοίας λόγον εὐκρινῶς διατεθειμένων· ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης μέχρι Σελήνης στήσας τὸ θεῖον, τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη περιγράφει τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ διοικήσεως.” κ.τ.λ. To the same effect also Theodoret, *Serm. de Provid.* I. Tom. IV. p. 322. A. Tatian. *Orat. contra Græcos.* in the outset, and *Diog. Laert. in vita Arist.* near the end. Theodoret again, *Gr. affect. curat.* Ed. Gaisford, adds on this subject. “τα γὰρ δη μέχρι σελήνης ἰθύνειν ἔφησε τὸν Θεόν, τὰ δὲ γε ἄλλα ὑπὸ τὴν εἰμαρμένην τετάχθαι.” “Inquit enim ad lunam usque Dei gubernationem deferri; quæ vero sunt infra lunam fato esse subjecta.”

<sup>3</sup> Plato, as cited by Laertius, (*Lib. III. segm. 78*) makes health, strength, the integrity of the senses, wealth, family, glory, &c. necessary to happiness; but he does not exclude virtue. So also Aristotle, according to Tatian. *Orat. contra Græcos. init.*

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beauty of virtue in the person of any one, be sufficient for the life of happiness, unless he happened to have a complete symmetry of bodily limbs! These men then, considered these things as being apart, in a place (removed) from the things pertaining to men, (and) higher than the moon: that a Godhead existed; but affirmed, that the providence of God looked not to the things on earth. Nor did they recognize the common Saviour of all, THE WORD OF GOD, the Preserver of all things; but drew near for the purpose of reverencing those Deities, that were in certain places, and in the cities<sup>1</sup>: professing themselves to be wise in some things, with those who knew them; but performing others in their deeds. In their writings and common conversation,<sup>r</sup> they made the oaths of their Gods: but, in their minds, no such thing existed. On the contrary, they submitted to this for the sake of the applause of the many<sup>2</sup>. So that hence these same were Demons, rather than men, (and) to be despised by every sort of sound Philosophy.

21. Others also, besides these who boasted themselves (as being) the best of Philosophers, dared with ungodly

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<sup>1</sup> Lactantius Lib. i. cap. v. 22. Ed. 1698. tells us that, “Aristoteles, quamvis secum ipsa dissideat, ac repugnantia sibi et dicat et sentiat: in summum tamen unam mentem mundo præesse testatur,” which seems to me admirably to suit this place. Brucker,—an invaluable writer on the philosophy of the ancients,—thus speaks summarily on Aristotle, (Hist. Crit. Philos. Tom. i. p. 814. Ed. secund.) “Si conjecturis locus aliquis in re obscurissima est, ab Aristotelis systemate non alienum putamus esse, si per *naturam* intelligatur influxus necessarius atque naturalis intelligentiæ ultimæ sphæræ presidentis,” &c. And again, ib. p. 815, “Casum enim et fortunam in causis ponit efficientibus, et tamen, certam eis, unde oriantur, causam assignare nequit.” And again, ib. p. 833, “Motorem enim primum,...Deum vocare nullus dubitat, eique subordinat intelligentias reliquas,”...“Deum ille quidem facit motus omnis causam, verum non adjungit tantum ei vinculo necessario materiam:.. impotissimus itaque Deus est,” &c. See the authors cited here generally.

<sup>2</sup> Again, speaking of the Demonology of Aristotle, he says (ib. p. 831.) “Quibus (i. e. demonibus) an preces et sacrificia offerenda sint,...cautus non explicuit; verisimile tamen, Aristotelem ea inter istas fabulas, ad popellum deliniendum...excogitatas, retulisse.” Athenagoras charges him with believing, that the one God consisted both of soul and body; and that this body was ethereal, or consisted of the Æther. Legat. pro. Christ. p. 54.



sin (to affirm), that God is subject to change; and again, to combustion! This therefore, is the doctrine of the Stoic Philosophers, that all being, even the whole world, shall in time be mixed up with God<sup>1</sup> in fire: and, (that) the whole shall effect a change, as in seed; and, that out of this, universal order shall again be produced, just as it was at the first<sup>2</sup>: and that all these are Gods, as are all the portions of the world; and, because the whole consists of all its parts, the entire universe itself wholly constitutes the Deity<sup>3</sup>! These same again affirm, that this intelligent and reasonable soul which is in man, is corruptible, just as it is corporeal. What then, could hinder such from daring to speak against God, the King of all? or again, from determining, that these souls (consist) of matter, and body? and, that they are nothing else but the dense smoke, and fumes of bodies<sup>4</sup>? and again, that after the close of life, they

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<sup>1</sup> So Porphyry, (as cited *ib. cap. xvi.*) God, they say, is a sort of intelligent fire, which will consume, and pervade all things, &c. which he condemns as utter folly. See also Spencer's note on Origen *contra Cels. Lib. i. p. 6. lin. 52.*

<sup>2</sup> Syr. , must here mean, *from eternity*: as this was the opinion of the Stoics. The same sentiment is given, *Prep. Evang. Lib. xv. cap. xiv. p. 817. A: xx. C. D.*

<sup>3</sup> So Arius Didymus (as cited *Prep. Evang. Lib. xv. cap. xv.*) "Ὀλον δὲ τὸν κόσμον σὺν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μέρεσι προσαγορεύουσι Θεόν. τούτου δὲ ἓνα μόνον εἶναί φασι πεπερασμένον, καὶ ζῶον, καὶ αἰδῖον, καὶ Θεόν. ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ πάντα περιέχεσθαι τὰ σώματα, κενὸν δὲ μηδὲν ὑπάρχειν ἐν αὐτῷ... κόσμον αἰδῖον εἶναι καὶ Θεόν. They term the whole world, with its parts, God. This, they say, is one absolute, living, and eternal being, and God: that, in this all bodies are contained, and that no void (vacuum) exists in him.. that the world is eternal, and is God,—He goes on to say, that with respect to order, &c. it is begotten, and, as to the infinite periods of time through which it has passed, or is to pass, it is subject to change; and may be considered as a sort of mansion for Gods and men: or as a city of which the Gods are the governours; men the governed.

<sup>4</sup> Cleanthes affirmed that Zeno, with Heraclitus and others, placed the nature of the soul in sense, or vapour. Κλεάνθης μὲν... φησὶν ὅτι Ζήνων ψυχὴν λέγει αἴσθησιν, ἢ ἀναθυμίασιν, καθάπερ Ἡράκλειτος. And again. Souls arise as vapour from things humid. καὶ ψυχὰι ἀπὸ τῶν ὑγρῶν ἀναθυμῶνται. *Prep. Evang. Lib. xv. cap. xx. D.* See the whole of the article, with the refutation from Longinus, *ib. cap. xxi.*

shall continue, during the times destined for them? and (this) not of all, but only of the souls of the Philosophers<sup>5</sup>? and, that at last, with the general conflagration, these also shall burn together with God, and the whole universe? and, that at the same time, the souls of the wicked and of the just shall be dissolved; the things also of the just, together with those of the atheists, shall be fused, as it were, by one and the same fire? and again, that the worlds shall be reborn from this consumption of universal fire, differing in nothing, but in every thing, similar to the former; so that again, as from a beginning<sup>6</sup>, these (worlds) shall in those be reproduced; as shall this same traditionary (life). Modes of life again, such as shall in all respects be similar, and not differing: the same fashions too, customs, regulations, and passions, shall exist within these. In the same manner also, the same sorrows, honours, recreations, oppressions, shall subsist among these, and happen to the same individuals. So that Helen', and the calamities of Ilium, (Troy) may again be expected: and again,

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<sup>5</sup> The soul, they say, is both generative and perishable; but is not dissolved with the body, but remains of itself for some time: but the souls of the studious will endure till the general conflagration; while those of the ignorant will endure only for a certain period of time. “Τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν γενητὴν τε καὶ φθαρτὴν λέγουσιν· οὐκ εὐθὺς δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἀπαλλαγεῖσθαι φθείρεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἐπιμένειν τιναὶ χρόνους καθ’ ἑαυτήν. τῆν μὲν τῶν σπουδαίων, μέχρι τῆς εἰς πῦρ ἀναλύσεως τῶν πάντων· τὴν δὲ τῶν ἀφρόνων, πρὸς ποσοῦς τινας χρόνους.” Ib. cap. xx. p. 822. B.C. It is added, that the souls of the ignorant, as well as those of the irrational animals, will perish with their bodies. The xxii. Chapter, ib. contains a long and valuable article on these matters from Plotinus.—See also Theod. Græc. affect. Curat. Ed. Gaisford, p. 195. seq.

<sup>6</sup> There can be no doubt, I think, that this notion, about an universal conflagration, was originally taken from the Bible, and misapplied both by heathens and believers. The first passage occurs in Deut. xxxii. 22—24.; the last, 2 Peter iii. 7, which, with all their parallels, cannot by any legitimate interpretation extend to any thing beyond the fall of Jerusalem, and of heathen Rome. In like manner, we have a sort of Millennium and of Antichrist, common to both Mohammedans and Christians, and misapplied by both.

<sup>7</sup> Syr. ܩܘܠܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܡܘܠܩܘܢ ܕܡܘܠܩܘܢ. *That again Helen and the evils of Ilium.* Anaximander also held, that the world would be dissolved and again produced. Prep. Evang. Lib. xiv. cap. xiv. p. 548. B.C. seq.

Anytus<sup>1</sup>, and Melitus, and the deadly poison of Socrates: again too, the contentions of the Philosophers themselves: the same divisions on the same subjects; and, at last again, shall the whole be consumed by fire; and again, after it has been burnt, again shall it be restored anew: and again shall consist of the same reducible materials<sup>2</sup>. And indeed these, adhered thus violently to their error!

22. The descendants however, of the Philosophers, who were named the “primitive (students of) Physics”<sup>3</sup>, (and) who preceded all (others), laid the origin of all upon the inanimate Elements, and recognized neither God, nor Providence, nor Creator, nor Maker of any thing; but vainly, emptily and falsely, arrogated to themselves the name and show of Philosophers: some of them affirming the earth, and dry substance, to be the origin of all; others the ocean<sup>4</sup>, the Parent of all; for thus they named the humid substance and waters: others, fire<sup>5</sup>; others, the

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<sup>1</sup> Syr. ܐܢܝܬܘܫ ܘܡܠܝܬܘܫ, *Anytus and Melitus*. Two persons who were particularly unfriendly to Socrates, and at length brought about his condemnation. See Plato’s *Apology for Socrates*, and *Diogenes Laertius* II. 38: *Tatian. Orat. contra Græcos*, near the beginning: and *Origen contra Cels. Lib. iv. p. 208. seq.*

- On this general conflagration, see the *Prep. Evang. ib. capp. xviii. xix. p. 820*. In the former, *Zeno, Cleanthes, and Chrysippus*, are said to have been the most ancient teachers of this doctrine.

<sup>3</sup> Syr. ܩܘܪܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܦܝܣܝܩܐ. Among these *Thales the Milesian, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Parmenides, Xenophanes, Leucippus, Heraclitus, Epicurus, and others*. The person, who according to *Brucker* was peculiarly styled “*Physicus*,” was *Strato of Lampsaca*, the successor of *Theophrastus* in the *Lyceum*. (*Vol. I. p. 845. See ib. p. 458. seq.*)

<sup>4</sup> Syr. ܐܘܪܘܬܐ. So *Thales, Brucker, &c. ib. p. 465. seq.* So the *Brahmins of India* of the present, and former times. Which is probably nothing more than the *Chaos of the Bible*. According to *Brucker* however, it is very doubtful whether *Thales* was atheistic, grounding this on the requirements of the emanation system. He got his philosophy in *Egypt*, according to *Plutarch*; but see the *Prep. Evang. Lib. xiv. cap. xiv.* the various opinions of this subject, as cited from *Plutarch*, and followed by the comment of our author.

<sup>5</sup> This was the opinion of *Heraclitus, and Hippasus*, who added, that as fire was the origin of all, so should it be the destruction. *Anaximander* too, according to *Plutarch (de Placit. Philos.)* affirmed that *God* was a globe of fire.

air<sup>6</sup>; and others, a compound<sup>7</sup> of these. They also introduced many male, as they likewise did, female Deities. Marriage too, and the bringing forth of children, they perverted by natural metaphors, and the specious diction of the fictitious stories of the Poets, to the adorning of (this their) vain glory<sup>8</sup>. So that these also, fell down again, as it were by perverseness, from the heights above, upon the material elements and sensible portions of the universe!

23. Others however, exclusive of these, determined the reverse of all those mentioned;—that there was nothing divine in (all) this which exists; neither God that was over all; nor the (Deities) which were in certain places, nor that superior name, nor the imposition of (plastic) hand upon matter, were things really existing: so that they proceeded to the greatest extent of impiety<sup>9</sup>.

24. Plato alone, of all the Greeks, (as) it seems to me, adhered more eminently to (the true) Philosophy; and held correctly, respecting that good Being who is the First, and Cause of all; and became truly wise, respecting the Second (<sup>10</sup>Cause), who is the Creator of all.

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<sup>6</sup> This was the opinion of Anaximenes, while Archelaus made both the air and infinity the origin of all things: Anaximander, infinity only. Pythagoras—the prince of Philosophers—number, and its proportions.

<sup>7</sup> Empedocles held, that the Elements of all were fire, air, earth, and water; while the Principles were, Friendship and Discord: the one uniting all things; the other dissevering them. For a more particular account of these Philosophers, see Brucker, Tom. II. Pars. II. Lib. II. cap. i. seq.

<sup>8</sup> In the abominations practised in most of their mysteries, as of Venus, the Eleusinian, &c. of the Phallus in Egypt, of the Fascinus of the Vestals, and of the Lingam of the Hindoos even at this day; many of which obtained among the Gnostics, and do now among the Druzes on Mount Libanus. See also Theodoret, Gr. affect. curat. Serm. I. p. 482.

<sup>9</sup> These were termed Atheists by the philosophers generally. See Vossius de Idololatria. Lib. I. c. 3...Brucker, Tom. I. Index Atheus. Lactan. De falsa relig. Lib. I. cap. II. &c.

<sup>10</sup> To our author's fondness of this philosophy, of *First* and *Second Cause*, and to the particularity with which he followed it up, may perhaps be ascribed all the bad names bestowed on him, both by the ancients and moderns. When arguing with the philosophers of his day, he would, naturally enough, seize upon those things which they appeared to hold in common with himself; and might thence be tempted also to adopt

25. He also established (it) justly and well, that the heavens, the sun, the moon, the stars, and wholly and at once, the whole world, were made by the God of all<sup>1</sup>.

adopt their illustrations, to an extent which would prove unfavourable to himself in the end,—a mistake more frequently committed, perhaps, than most men are aware. In his *Præparatio Evangelica* he has I think, given good proof of this. In Book VII. ch. xi. and *ib.* Book XI. ch. xiii. he has shewn, that the Hebrews held, in common with Plato, the doctrine of *One only supreme God*. Again, Book VII. cap. xii. he gives us what he styles the Theology of the Hebrews on *the Second Cause, the second Essence, the Divine power, the first subsistence, THE WORD (λόγος), the Wisdom, and the Power, of God*. He then gives (cap. xiii.) the opinions of Philo Judæus on this subject, which are extremely curious; and then (cap. xiv.) those of Aristobulus on the same. Again (Book XI. ch. xiv.) we have Plato (ch. xv.), Philo, and (ch. xvi.) Plato again, and (ch. xvii.) Plotinus on Plato, (ch. xviii.) Numenius on Plato, and (ch. xix.) Amelius reasoning after St John, on the same subject. All of which, our author affirms, is in strict accordance with the mind of the sacred writers. And, I have no doubt, this is to a certain extent true: and, that these views originated in one common source, viz. the Sacred Scriptures. But then, several passages cited by Eusebius, have obviously been misunderstood by him, e. g. Job xxviii. 20; Ps. xxxii. 6, &c. Others have no authority, viz. Wisd. vi. 24: vii. 22: viii. 1. which are apocryphal. And again, in following out these views, (*ib.* Book VII. ch. xv. p. 325), he has unhappily adopted comparisons, which have brought upon him the charge of Arianism: although he has, perhaps, said nothing more than many of our own divines have, in the trite comparison, which makes the body of the Sun to represent the Father, the light issuing therefrom the Son, and the warmth the Holy Ghost. This subject will, however, be resumed in our Introduction, and entered into more particularly. This doctrine, of a Second Cause, is also to be found in Clemens. Alexand. Strom. Lib. VII. p. 708. B.

<sup>1</sup> Cicero, nevertheless, accuses him (as our author does) of the greatest inconsistency in these matters, e. g. *De Nat. Deor. Lib. I. 13. 20. Ed. 1830. p. 818.* “Jam de Platonis inconstantia longum est dicere.....quod vero sine corpore ullo Deum vult esse, ut Græci dicunt *ἀσωματον*..... Idem et in *Timæo* dicit, et in *Legibus*, et *Mundum Deum esse, et Cælum, et Astra, et Terram, et animos, et eos quos majorum institutis accepimus: quæ et per se sunt falsa perspicue, et inter sese vehementer pugnantia.*” Of this *Maker* of the world, Cicero likewise takes notice; and, as it was not unlikely,—circumstanced as he was,—ridicules. *Ib. cap. ix. 18.* “Audite.....non fuit commenticiasque sententias, non *opificem ædificatoremque mundi, Platonis de Timæo Deum: nec anum fatidicam Stoicorum Πρόνοιαν,*” &c. For a full and accurate account of Plato, his Philosophy, Writings, &c., the reader is referred to Brucker. *Hist. Crit. Philos. Tom. I. Index, with the authors cited.*

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two in common, as each may be able. As often as ye shall be able, avail yourselves of compact (together), and of the Law; and, by that Lord, who is justice (itself) swear ye, at once with care;—not without wisdom, and with erudition the sister of care; and, by that Governour of all, of the things that are, and of those that shall be; and, by the Father of the Governour and of the (efficient) Cause, the Lord, swear ye:—Him, whom, if we are truly Philosophers, we shall all clearly know, as our power (may be, being) of those who are happy men.”

30. This (philosopher) also taught, that there was a just Judgment of God, and that He would render to every man as he should deserve: he very divinely shewed too, that the extreme good was this, that (men) be like to the Godhead<sup>2</sup>; be attached, and made (as it were) twin brothers, to virtue. Nevertheless, he also fell justly<sup>4</sup>, (and as it was) likely, more than they all under reprehension. Why? Because he knew God as He was; but honoured Him not as God. He concealed the truth too, and put forth falsehood to the many. To those whom he loved, he spoke openly and well, as a Philosopher, of the Father and Creator of this whole. But, with the inhabitants of Athens, he conducted himself as no Philosopher; and went down to the Piræus to Socrates, at his word, to pray to the Goddess, and, at once, to complete the festival of Bendis<sup>3</sup>, together with all the inhabitants. And again,

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<sup>2</sup> The passage here imitated is cited by Laërtius, *Plato. Lib. iii. Segm. 78.* “Τελος μὲν εἶναι τὴν ἐξομοίωσιν τῷ θεῷ, τὴν δ’ ἀρετὴν, αὐτάρκη μὲν εἶναι πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν. This latter part is taken, very freely, by the Syriac Translator, who gives |*Λοῖλμωω ρωω*|*λλωω*.”

<sup>3</sup> Syr. *ܪܘܕܝܕܝܐ* |*ܕܝܕܝܐ*. The *Βενδιδία ἑορτή* of the Athenians, called also *Βενδίδεια*, and *Βενδέια*. In the *Lexicon* to the *Timæus* of Plato, *Bendis* is said to be the same with *Artemis* (*Diana*), a Thracian word: and, that *Bendidia* signifies the feast of *Diana*, with the Thracians. “*Βένδης. ἢ Ἄρτεμις. Θρακεία φωνή· και Βενδιδία, Ἀρτεμιδος ἑορτή παρὰ Θραξίν.*” The term occurs in *Plato’s Polit.* (*Lond. Edit. p. 326. Tom. vi.—Steph. p. 354.*) *Eusebius* had in view, perhaps, the following passage of *Origen* against *Celsus*, (*vii. p. 277.*) when he wrote this: viz. “*Ἄλλ’ οἱ τοιαυτὰ περὶ τοῦ πρῶτου ἀγαθοῦ γράψαντες καταβαίνοσιν εἰς Πειραιέα, προσευξόμενοι ὡς θεῶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι·*

he himself said of his master, that, when the end of his life drew near, he commanded them to sacrifice a cock! Nor did the best of Philosophers blush;—nor was it concealed:—that, the Father of his philosophy commanded them to propitiate the Deity, by means of fabricated earthly matter, and a little blood;—the body of a dead bird<sup>1</sup>! And again, he called those (Deities) that were honoured in the cities, Demons: and this he did well. But, he further confessed, that these same were, and that they were formerly known as being, mortal men. And (here) he spoke the truth. Nevertheless, he advised that (men) should worship these same as Gods! And, because he submitted himself, with the multitudes, to the error of these, he may well have been memorialized as (implicated) in their pretences, because he concealed the word of truth under the show of Philosophy, and attached himself to

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καὶ ὁψόμενοι τὴν τῶν Βενδιδείων ἐπιτελουμένην πανήγυριν.” *But they, who wrote such things about the supreme good, go down to the Piræus to pray to the Goddess Diana, and to see the celebration of the feast of Bendis.* I adopt the reading of Hemsterhusius, which receives no small degree of authority from this place of Eusebius. The place of Plato, is probably that on which the Scholiast has thus remarked: (London Edit. Tom. ix. p. 89.) Σωκράτης, εἰς πειραια ἀφικομενος τῆς τῶν Βενδιδείων ἑορτῆς ἔνεκα καὶ πομπῆς, διείλεκται περὶ πολιτείας. κ. τ. λ. The allusion here is to the Polit. i. p. 253. Lond. Edit. It stands thus: κατέβην χθὲς εἰς Πειραιᾶ μετὰ Γλαύκωνος τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος προσυξόμενός τε τῇ θεῷ καὶ ἅμα τὴν ἑορτὴν κ. τ. λ. See the notes here. On which the Scholiast (Tom. ix. p. 67. seq.) gives some further particulars stating, that this feast was common both to the Athenians and Thracians, and was celebrated at the Piræus on the 19th day of the month Thargelion. The Syriac ܥܘܡܝܘܢ is an error perhaps of some Copyist, for ܥܘܡܝܘܢ. It is however, a fact, as remarked long ago by Kirsch, (Pref. ad Pentat. Syr. Lips. 1787), that the Syrians avoid as much as possible the concurrence of two Dolaths: “ ܥ duplex ante ܥ non fertur,” says Kirsch, (ib. p. xi.); “quam ob rem sequens ܥ in ܥ mutatur, e. g. ܥܥܥܥ, ܥܥܥܥ,” so ib. ܥܥܥܥ for ܥܥܥܥ.

<sup>1</sup> In the Phædo of Plato, §. 155. Lond. Edit. Vol. v. p. 409, see the notes. It. Lactantius, iii. 20, “de falsa sapientia.” See also Spencer’s note on Origen (contra Cels. Lib. vi. p. 277. notes, p. 74.), where we are told, that this is to be taken figuratively.

- Syr. ܥܘܡܝܘܢ ܥܘܡܝܘܢ.

falsehood. Hear therefore, the things that he has said in the *Timæus*<sup>3</sup>:—

31. “To<sup>4</sup> speak of the other Demons, and to know their power, is too great for us. We assent however, to those who have said before us, that they were the sons of the gods, even as they have affirmed: and they well knew their own fathers. It is impossible therefore, we should not approve of the sons of the gods, when behold, they advance neither probabilities nor strong proofs<sup>5</sup>. But, as they affirmed, that they narrated respecting those who were their own (fathers); (so) we, adhering to the law, believe. Thus therefore, as these affirmed a generation respecting these gods, (so) let it be; and be affirmed, that the Ocean<sup>6</sup> and

<sup>3</sup> Syr. ܡܘܚܘܠܘܢ. An error, for ܡܘܚܘܠܘܢ, i.e. in the *Timæus*: the passage is noted below.

<sup>4</sup> The passage is accordingly, found in the *Timæus*, and stands thus: “Περι δε των αλλων δαιμονων ειπειν και γνωσαι την γενεσιν μειζον η καθ’ ημας, πειστέον δε τοις ειρηκόσιν εμπροσθεν, εκγόνοις μὲν θεῶν οὔσιν, ὡς ἔφασαν, σαφῶς δὲ που τοὺς γε αὐτῶν προγόνους εἰδῶσιν. ἀδύνατον οὖν θεῶν παισὶν ἀπιστεῖν, καὶ περ’ ἄνευ τε εἰκότων καὶ ἀναγκαίῳ ἀποδείξεω λέγουσιν, ἀλλ’ ὡς οἰκεῖα φάσκουσιν ἀπαγγέλλειν ἐπομένους τῷ νόμῳ πιστευτέον. οὕτως οὖν κατ’ ἐκείνους ἡμῖν ἢ γένεσις περὶ τούτων τῶν θεῶν ἐχέτω καὶ λεγέσθω. Γῆς τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ παῖδες Ὠκεανός τε καὶ Τηθύς ἐγενέσθην, τούτων δὲ φόρκυς Κρόνος τε καὶ Ῥέα καὶ ὅσοι μετὰ τούτων, ἐκ δὲ Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας Ζεὺς Ἥρα τε καὶ πάντες ὅσους ἴσμεν πάντας ἀδελφοὺς λεγομένους αὐτῶν, ἔτι τε τούτων ἄλλους ἐκτόνους.” (London Edit. 1826. Vol. vii. p. 277.) The Syr. Translator seems to have read *την δυναμιν*, instead of *την γενεσιν*. “*That they were*” &c. Syr. ܡܘܚܘܠܘܢ ܡܘܚܘܠܘܢ, might have been intended to mean, “*Since they were,*” &c. the Syriac being ambiguous here. I have given however, the more usual and obvious force of the Syriac. It. *εκείνους ἢ γενεσις*, omitting *ἡμῖν*: which is perhaps correctly omitted. It. *καὶ ὅσοι μετὰ τούτων*, he also omits, if it is not an omission by some copyist. It. for *καὶ πάντες, καὶ ἄλλους*. Theod. has a few unimportant various readings; but ends his extract at *τῷ νόμῳ πιστευτέον*. The same is the case with the extract as given by Cyril.

<sup>5</sup> So also Cicero (*Natura Deorum*, Lib. iii. §. 6.)...“Majoribus autem nostris etiam nulla reddita ratione, credere.” And again, as cited by Lactantius: “non esse illa vulgo disputanda, ne susceptas publice religiones disputatio talis extinguat.” Lib. ii. cap. ii.

<sup>6</sup> The Syriac proper names are thus written, ܡܘܠܘܢ, Ὠκεανός;

Tethys were the sons of the Earth and the Heavens; and of these same, Phorcys, Saturn, and Rhea (Ops): and of Saturn and Rhea, Jupiter and Juno: and those others, whom we know were all of them brothers of those mentioned: and others again, the children of these.”

32. You (now) view the very Philosopher—who is from above<sup>1</sup>, and of the exemplars that are above the world, and of the intelligent essences which are incorporeal,—beneath on the earth and on the ocean, immersed as it were in the depths of error<sup>2</sup>! He has moreover, introduced a generation of the gods,—him who could himself alone, say with a mind, the voice of which was more elevated than that of man,—

“What<sup>3</sup> is that which always is, but that it might

Ἐοὐδὸν, Τηθύς: Ἐοῦδος, φόρκυς: Ἐοῦδος, Κρόνος: Ἰἰσι, Ῥέα: Ἐοῖ, Ζεύς: Ἰἰσι, Ἡρα. The above passage is also cited by Theodoret (Græc. affect. curat. Sermo. iii. p. 474, 511. Gaisford p. 119.) and by Cyrill. Alexand. against Julian. Lib. viii. p. 269. Eusebius Prep. Evang. Lib. ii. cap. vii. Lib. xiii. cap. i. xiv. also by Athenagoras, Legat. pro Christ. pp. 63 and 69, and Prep. Evang. Lib. xiv. cap. iv. p. 723. A. From Homer. Il. Ξ. 201, and cited by Plato in the Theætatus,—

“Ὠκεανόν τε Θεῶν γένεσιν, καὶ μήτερα Τηθύν.”

Where the latter says, “Ὀμηρος εἰπὼν Ὠκεανόν τε...πάντα εἶρηκεν ἔκγονα ῥοῆς τε καὶ κινήσεως. Clarke’s Homer, ib. Noticed also by Aristotle, (Metaphysics, Lib. i. cap. iii.) in these words, “Ὠκεανόν τε γὰρ καὶ Τηθύν ἐποίησαν τῆς γενέσεως πατέρας. “Oceanum namque et Tethyn generationis parentes esse cecinerunt.” Syr. Ἐοῦδος Ἐοῦδος. It. Thodoret. Gr. affect. curat. Serm. i. p. 486, and Athenagoras, Legat. pro. Christ. p. 64, where this argument is powerfully urged: it. Theophilus ad Autolyicum. Lib. ii. ab initio: and the Homilia Clementina sexta. ii. Vol. i. p. 670. Edit. 1724.

<sup>1</sup> It is probable, I think, that Eusebius had a passage, in a work ascribed to Justin Martyr, here in view: viz. “Πλατων μεν γαρ, ὡς ἀνωθεν καταληλυθὼς, καὶ τὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἅπαντα ἀκριβῶς μεμαθηκῶς καὶ ἑωρακῶς, τὸν ἀνωτάτω Θεὸν ἐν τῇ πυρῶδει οὐσία εἶναι λέγει. For Plato indeed, as coming from above, and having seen and learned accurately all things in the heavens, says, that the most high God exists in a fiery essence. Paræn. ad Græcos, p. 12. Edit. Steph.

<sup>2</sup> Syr. Ἰἰσι. The “Ideas” of Plato are perhaps alluded to here. See the Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xxiii. xv. xiii. xlv. it. Lib. xii. xix. p. 593. B.

<sup>3</sup> This passage, which has been rendered insuperably obscure by its interpreters, stands thus in the Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. ix. [Τί το

exist, has no being? And it is this same which is apprehended by knowledge together with reason, and exists in all time according to itself. But, that which is to be considered by the sense that is irrational, and was, and is corruptible; that it might fully exist, it never had even being.”

34. This selfsame Combatant therefore, now honours this identical (something,)—this which was, and is corruptible, but never fully existed, on account of its elemental and dissoluble character,—with the name of gods! And again the very same, (virtually) reprehending the expositors of this story of the gods, says of them, that it was neither from probabilities nor from strong proofs, that they spoke and put forth the error of these Deities. And, having accused them in this manner, he afterwards says, “We give our assent to them, and approve;” when, behold! they had said nothing truly! Besides, when he called them the sons of the gods,

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ὄν αἰὲ, γένεσιν δὲ οὐκ ἔχον; καὶ] τί τὸ γινόμενον μὲν αἰὲ, ὄν δὲ οὐδέποτε; τὸ μὲν δὴ, νοήσει μετὰ λόγου περιληπτὸν, αἰὲ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ὄν. τὸ δὲ αἰσθήσει ἀλόγῳ δοξαστὸν, γινόμενον καὶ ἀπολλύμενον, ὄντως δὲ οὐδέποτε ὄν. It is repeated, *ib. cap. x.* with a few unimportant variations. The former is evidently said of God, as being a spirit, self-existing and eternal; the latter, of matter, as continually existing, yet subject to change, and having no existence in itself. Eusebius thinks that this passage, is an imitation of the יְהוָה אֵלֵינוּ of Exod. iii. 14. *I am He who exists* (permanently and of self.) Justin Martyr too, cites it with a similar application. *Paræn. ad Græc. p. mihi. 21.* It. Theodoret, *Gr. affect. curat. Serm. ii. p. 491.* Edit. Gaisford, p. 72. The Syriac does not contain that part which I have placed between brackets in the Greek. Athenagoras supplies a good comment on the terms here used, (*Legat. Christ. p. 63.*) and on the very same passage of Plato. His words are, “εἰ γὰρ γεγωνασι, οὐκ οντες, ως οί περι αὐτῶν θεολογοῦντες λέγουσιν, οὐκ εἰσίν. ἢ γὰρ ἀγέννητόν τι, καὶ ἔστιν αἰδίου. ἢ γενητόν, φθαρτόν ἐστι.” “Si geniti sunt, nec erant antea (ut aiunt qui inter illos res divinas explicant) non sunt. Res enim omnis, aut ingenita, aut genita est: hæc corruptibilis, illa æterna.” On the place itself he says: “περι νοητου και αισθητου διαλεγομενος ο Πλατων, το μεν αει ον, το νοητου, αγεννητου ειναι διδασκει. τὸ δὲ οὐκ ὄν, τὸ αἰσθητὸν γενητόν.” “Disserit autem (Plato) de intelligibili et sensibili: et ens sempiternum, quod intellectu solo percipitur, ingenitum esse docet: sensibile contrà, genitum et non ens.” So also Theophilus ad Autolyicum, *Lib. ii.* near the beginning.

he clearly knew, that he was introducing their fathers who were, like all (other) men, subject to mortality! And again, he memorializes mortal gods, and mortal sons, who were like to their fathers, and who plainly said that they knew their own fathers. Nor does he conceal himself when he says, "It is impossible therefore, that we should not believe the sons of Gods;" still, he immediately accuses them, that they had advanced neither probabilities, nor strong proofs, and adds, "We approve of them, as saying that they narrated respecting their own" (fathers.) He says not—and (this) fully and carefully,—that they narrated; but, as "they said that they narrated;" and, we "assent to them as saying, that they were the sons of the gods." And, Whence had he learned this, that he should affirm just as they had said? For (says he) they said this: It was not I. That is; Still to them, when speaking of themselves, and unable to establish (the assertion) respecting themselves, either by probabilities or strong proofs, we nevertheless give our credence! He says too after this: "Thus therefore, as these affirmed the generation of the gods, (so) let it be;" necessarily, says he, just as these say! Not indeed as my opinion is, but as theirs (was,) let these things be affirmed<sup>1</sup>!

35. You perceive therefore, that he advises it as proper, that we should adhere to error! And, For what cause does he set this up? Not because of any other thing, except the Law: that is, because of the death that was suspended on the Law! And this he openly acknowledges when he says, "We, adhering to the Law, believe." The fear then of man, and of the Law, dismissed from the Philosophers, that Fear, and Law, which (were) of the truth! Where then, are those excellent and wise things,

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<sup>1</sup> This argument is also touched upon by Cyrill of Alexandria in his work against Julian. (Edit. Spanh. p. 284.) The Syriac here speaks in the first person, as is usual with Oriental writers: thus, *ܐܡܪ ܕܡܝܢ ܐܝܢܝܢܝܢ*. For not as my opinion, but as theirs: i. e. Plato here makes the statement, not as resting on his authority, but on theirs. See also Vossius de Orig. et prog. idololatriæ, Lib. i. cap. xli. p. 151. and the Prep. Evang. Lib. XIII. cap. i.

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honour mortal Gods, on account of the Law? And, How can you dignify these, as sons of the Gods, in order that we might approve, and give (our) assent to them? In your own words you both reproach, and chastise<sup>1</sup> (them), as having said nothing soundly, or by way of proof, respecting (these) their own Fathers. How then, having thus accused them, can you now advise men to approve of them? But, of these their Fathers, let us make inquiry:—

38. Of the Earth, you say, and the Heavens, the Ocean and Tethys were the progeny: and again, Phorcys, Saturn, and Rhea. And so after all these, Jupiter and Juno! Jupiter, after the Earth and Heavens! Jupiter, after Saturn! and Rhea, after the whole of these! What say you, O Combatant?—Where is the great Jupiter, who drove the flying chariot in the Heavens? Or, Is not that a sentiment of thine, over which every body cries out and wonders, when thou thus sayest:—

39. “The same great Jupiter therefore, drove and guided the flying chariot in the heavens, and to the same adhered the hosts (both) of the Gods and of the Demons<sup>3</sup>?”

40. But, I know not whence Jupiter is to be viewed, after these (viz.) the Earth, the Sea, the Ocean, Rhea, and

<sup>1</sup> Syr. ܐܢܝ ܘܨܒܘܫܘ, which ought, probably, to be ܐܢܝ ܘܨܒܘܫܘ.

<sup>2</sup> Syr. ܘܨܘܫܘ, i. q. Heb. ܘܨܘܫܘ, as Michaelis thinks, and perhaps, correctly.

<sup>3</sup> Justin Martyr (Paræn. ad Græcos. p. 27.) thus introduces a part of this passage:—“*ορμωμενος ο μεγαλοφωνος Πλατων μετα πολλῆς παρρησίας βοᾷ λέγων, ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγας ἐν οὐρανῷ Ζεὺς πτηνὸν ἄρμα ἐλαύνων*”...which, he says, is copied, from the Cherubim of Scripture. This passage, occurring amongst the most fanciful and silly matter of any in Plato, and honoured probably more frequently by citation than any other, is to be found in the Phædrus (Edit. Lond. 1826.) Vol. I. p. 78, where it stands thus: “*ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγας ἡγεμὼν ἐν οὐρανῷ Ζεὺς, ἐλαύνων πτηνὸν ἄρμα, πρῶτος πορεύεται, διακοσμῶν πάντα καὶ ἐπιμελούμενος τῷ δ' ἔπεται στρατιὰ θεῶν τε καὶ δαιμόνων.*” See the notes here. It has been cited by Clemens Alexand. Cohort. ad Gentes. et Strom. v. 598. Sylb. (T. II. p. 709. Potter) Stob. Serm. v. p. 67. v. 32. Spanheim. ad Julian. Orat. I. p. 119. and Athenagoras, Legat. pro Christ. p. 69, &c.

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Saturn, mortals! or How, according to this sentiment of thine, we can give our assent to that of those who said before us, that “they are the sons of the Gods, just as they affirmed; as they clearly knew their own Fathers. It is impossible therefore, we should not approve of the sons of the Gods, when, behold! they advance neither probabilities nor strong proofs.” And he adds; “Thus therefore just as they affirmed a generation, respecting these Gods (so) let it be, and be affirmed.” After this he makes a long story, which is that of the generation of the Gods, (as) related by the Poets<sup>4</sup>. And, upon this He assures us and says, that from Saturn and Rhea were Jupiter and Juno, and all those whom we know; and the brothers of these, are they all said to be; and others again, who were the children of these.

41. Do you observe then, how this man goes on stating,—stating too not things that are not difficult, but impious, and those which are directly opposed to his own Philosophy? For this is he who in the Republics<sup>5</sup>, drives

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<sup>4</sup> Theodoret, Gr. affect. curat. favours us with several citations from the Poets, &c. to this effect, Serm. i. p. 476. seq.

<sup>5</sup> This is followed out (in the Prep. Evang. Lib. xii. cap. xlix.) by citations from the tenth Book of Plato’s Republic, where we are told, among other things, that neither Homer nor any of the Poets ever arrived at the truth: “ουκουν τιθώμεν ἀπο Ὀμηρου ἀρξάμενοι, παντας τους ποιητικους μιμητας εἰδωλων ἀρετῆς εἶναι, και των αλλων, περι ὧν ποιούσι. τῆς δ’ ἀληθείας οὐχ ἄπτεσθαι.” But, it is in the second Book that he more largely and particularly proscribes them, as cited by Eusebius (Prep, Evang. Lib. xiii. cap. iii. p. 641. seq. Edit. Viger.) One passage or two, in illustration of our text, must suffice here: “Ους Ησιοδος τε, ειπον, και Ὀμηρος ημῖν ελεγτην, και αλλοι Ποιηται· οὔτοι γάρ που μύθους ψευδεῖς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συντίθεντες, ἔλεγον τε καὶ λέγουσι. Those, I said, whom Hesiod, Homer, and the other Poets told us of: for these, putting together lying fables for men, did, and do, relate these. (Repub. ii. Edit. Lond. p. 376. Tom. vi.) A little lower down, he forbids the introduction of such tales to his Republic thus: “και γαρ, ἡδ’ ος, ουτοι γε οἱ λόγοι χαλεποί. καὶ οὐ λεκτέοι γε ἔφην, ὦ Αδείμαντε, ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρα πόλει.” (Edit. Lond. ib. p. 378.) For indeed, says he, these are difficult words; nor, adds he are they to be spoken, O Adeimantus, in our city.—Such teaching, he goes on to say, is injurious both to God and man: and here he speaks—reasonably enough—of God, as the author of all good: and of youth,

away contemptuously (and) entirely from his commonwealth, those whom he here calls the sons of the Gods!—those ancients (I say) who spoke of the Divinity of these; Homer himself, Hesiod, and prior to these, Orpheus! But now, the same Philosopher advises, that we give credence to these; calling them the sons of the Gods! He supplicates too,—subsequently to the earth and the heavens, and to that humid substance which he names the Ocean, (implicated) in generation and corruption!—that Father of all, both of men and Gods; and Juno, with those others succeeding them, who—as he affirms—are said to be their brothers; and confesses, that they are the sons of those who are of the Earth, and of the Ocean: and he afterwards advises, that we should worship these as Gods<sup>1</sup>! Where then is that multitude of intellectual Essences? And, Where that incorporeal Form which is beyond the world? or, that Divine story about the nature that has neither colour nor form? And, if indeed every soul be immortal, Why dost thou subject to mortal beings, those that are immortal? And, to the bodies of Demons, that which is Incorporeal? The intelligent and rational Essence too, to those that are of sense, and subject to corruption? It seems right to me therefore, to consider this man more reprehensible than (all) the rest; since an attachment, on account of the kindred character of his doctrines, drew me to him. For, as it appears to me, this man alone of all the Greeks, attached himself to the outward portals of the truth, and shewed, in many (of his) sentiments, a relationship with us. Nevertheless, such cannot be honoured by the truth; because he is, as it appears to me, more reprehensible by it than all

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youth, as but too easily corrupted by such tales as those of wars, intrigues, adulteries, &c. of the Gods, all are. The same argument is prosecuted much at length by Theodoret, (*Græc. affect. curat. Serm. ii. p. 486. seq. Tom. iv.*)

<sup>1</sup> The same too, and in nearly the same words, is given by Theodoret. (*Ib. pp. 475, 490. seq. and 512. seq.*)

<sup>2</sup> Much interesting matter to this effect cited from Plato, will be found, *Prep. Evang. Lib. xiii. cap. i. seq.* See also Viger's notes. The place alluded to here, is in the *Phædrus*, *Lond. Edit. Vol. i. p. 82.* See the notes: cited also by Origen *contra Cels. Lib. vi. p. 288. Edit. Spencer.*



they escape severe reprehension? These too, as they determined that the Elements were the origin of all things, worshipped the Elements accordingly.

44. He however (i. e. Plato) determined, as by divine revelation, what that is “which exists in all time, but which could not be (of itself);” and what that is “which is apprehended by knowledge together with reason, and (is) in all time according to itself<sup>1</sup>.” He also said, in what way it exists; stating openly, well, and wisely, (and) in plain terms, the true account of the Deity, as (its) nature is, in these words: “God therefore, according to our former discourse, holds the beginning, middle, and end, of this all which exists: and, proceeding according to nature, He rightly disposes (it). And to Him does justice ever adhere, awarding punishment to those who swerve from the Divine Law.” But, How came he to swerve from the Divine Law, and to think defectively of the justice which is over all? and to put forth for us, these laws of mortal men? this Philosopher too,—this (I say), who could send the soul above the curvature of the heavens,—to fear Death<sup>3</sup>? Besides, I cannot think that this same man held soundly of

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<sup>1</sup> Sect. 33, above.

<sup>2</sup> This is taken from the Fourth Book of the Laws, and stands thus as cited by Eusebius (Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xiii. p. 531.) “Ὁ μὲν δὲ Θεὸς, ὡς καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος, ἀρχὴν καὶ τελευτὴν καὶ μέσα τῶν ὄντων ἀπάντων ἔχων, εὐθείαν περαίνει κατὰ φύσιν περιπορευόμενος. τῷ δ' αἰεὶ ξυνέπεται δίκη, τῶν ἀπολειπομένων τοῦ θείου νόμου τιμωρός.” It is found in the London Edit. Tom. viii. p. 111, where it is shewn to be cited, or alluded to, in “Clemens Alexand. Strom. ii. p. 418. B. (T. i. p. 499. Potter) Comp. p. 609. D. Cohort. ad Gen. p. 60. Pott. Aristot. de Mundo, C. 7. Plutarch. de Exil. p. 601. A. adv. Colot. p. 1124. F. Justin Mart. Cohort. ad Græc. C. 25. p. 25. E. Origen adv. Cels. vi. p. 285, &c. Suid. T. iii. p. 125. et Cedren. Histor. Comp. p. 159. Astr.” The passage is evidently taken from the Fragments of Orpheus, Prep. Evang. xiii. 12. p. 666.) which is this: “Ἀρχὴν αὐτος ἐχων, καὶ μεσσον, ἦοε τελευτην, ὡς λόγος ἀρχαίων.” The remaining part is found, ib. p. 798. See also the references in the London Edition of Plato, Tom. viii. p. 112. Also, Prep. Evang. ib. p. 100. and p. 685. D.

<sup>3</sup> Theodoret also brings this charge against Plato, Græc. affect. curat. Ed. Gaisford, p. 138.

the immortality of the soul, because he made the notion of the vulgar his own. For, it was not (according to this) that the souls of men only were immortal; but also, (those) of dogs, hedgehogs, ants, horses, asses, and of the rest of the irrational animals; and, that (these) differed in nothing, as to their essence, from the souls of the Philosophers! He (also) affirmed after the Egyptian manner<sup>4</sup>, that these same effected a change into every sort of body; those of men being transfusible into the beastly nature. On these accounts, he is as worthy of reprobation in this case, as in that in which he gave his approval<sup>5</sup>, but lied on the other side! And, although this was (such) an astonishing man, that he could apprehend the Maker and Creator of this whole; nevertheless, as he put not forth the word of righteousness, he is particularly deserving of the reprehension of every man: because "*he knew God<sup>6</sup>, but honoured Him not as God; but worshipped and served the creature, exclusive of the Creator.*" He also named those Gods, and worshipped them (as such), which were (supposed to be) fixed in visible bodies; the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, confessing at once, and at the same time, that they were made, were perishable, and compounded in their nature of fire, earth, and at the same time, of the rest of the elements! And these same he worshipped, he honoured, and called them Gods! And then again, he afterwards

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<sup>4</sup> Allusion is, perhaps, here made to a passage in the *Timæus*, (Edit. Lond. Tom. vii. p. 280. seq.)... "*σφαλείς δε τουτων εις γυναικος φυσιν εν τη δευτέρα γενεσει μεταβαλοι· μη παόμενος δε εν τούτοις ετι κακίας, τρόπον ον κακύνοιτο, κατά την όμοιότητα της του τρόπου γενέσεως εις τινα ποιούτην αεί μεταβαλοι θήρειον φύσιν κ. τ. λ.*" "*Contra vero agentes cogi in ortu secundo, sexu mutato, fieri mulierem, et qui ne tum quidem finem peccandi faciet, qua tenus depravatur, eatenus in brutorum naturam suis moribus similem permutari.*" Which is a full recognition of the doctrine of the Metempsychosis. See also the *Prep. Evang. Lib. xiii. cap. xvi.* where the same question is discussed.

<sup>5</sup> Sect. 31, above.

<sup>6</sup> Passages, it. *Lib. xiii. cap. xviii.* to the same effect will be found in the *Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. capp. xxxi, xxxii. seq.* from the *Timæus*, &c. The Scripture cited is, *Rom. i. 21, 25*, but is rather accommodated here, than exactly quoted.

confessed that these very same (Deities) were both dissoluble, and subject to corruption! But we may hear him,—as the thing said is at hand,—saying in the *Timæus*:—

45. “Gods<sup>1</sup> of the Gods, of whom I am the Creator: every thing therefore, that has been bound together, is dissoluble; hence, because you came into being, in order to exist, you are not immortal: neither (are you) wholly indissoluble.” And again (speaking) on their being, whence this is, and how to be determined, he says<sup>3</sup>: “What fire is to air; such the air is to the water; and the water to the earth: out of which He bound up and established the visible and sensible heavens. And, by means of these things, and out of them, which are thus and

<sup>1</sup> Considerable extracts to this effect are given from the *Epinomis*, the *Timæus*, and the Tenth book of the *Laws* of Plato, in the *Prep. Evang. Lib. XIII. cap. xviii.*

<sup>2</sup> This passage has been cited by Origen (*contra Cels. Lib. vi. p. 281.*) also by Eusebius, *Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xxxii. p. 559.*—*it. Lib. XIII. cap. xviii. p. 703. seq.*—where it stands thus: “Θεοὶ Θεων, ὡν ἐγὼ δημιουργός, πατήρ τε ἔργων, ἃ δι’ ἐμοῦ γεγόμενα, ἅλυστα ἐμοῦ γε θέλοντος.” ἐπάγει λέγων ἐξῆς. “Τὸ μὲν οὖν δὴ δεθὲν πᾶν, λυτὸν τό γε μὴν καλῶς ἀρμοσθὲν καὶ ἔχον εὖ, λυεῖν ἐθέλειν, κακοῦ. διὸ καὶ ἐπέπερ γεγένησθε, ἀθάνατοι μὲν οὐκ ἐστε, οὐδ’ ἄλλοι τὸ πᾶμπαν.” “Hæc vos qui Deorum satu orti estis attendite: Quorum operum ego parens, effectorque sum, quæ per me facta, non sunt dissoluta me invito. Subdit quanquam omne colligatum, solvi potest. Sed haud quaquam boni est, ratione vinctum velle dissolvere. Sed quoniam orti estis, immortales vos quidem esse et indissolubiles non potestis.” It is also cited by Athenagoras, *Legat. pro Christianis, p. 54. Edit. 1624.*

The place is found, *Edit. Lond. Tom. VII. p. 277. seq.* See the notes there given. The Syr. has  $\{\sigma\}$ ;  $\{\sigma\}$ , *God of the Gods*: but, as the mark of the plural number (*Ribbui*) is very often omitted in the MS. I have felt no difficulty in translating the passage here, as if it had been inserted. It exhibits the place moreover, with some omissions. But this might have been intended by Eusebius himself.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib. pp. 261,...* “ο τι περ πυρ προς ἀερα, τουτο\* ἀερα προς ὕδωρ, καὶ ὅ τι ἀήρ προς ὕδωρ, τουτο ὕδωρ προς γῆν, ξυνέδησε καὶ ξυνεστήσατο οὐρανὸν ὄρατὸν καὶ ἀπτόν. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἔκ τε δὴ τούτων τοιούτων καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τεττάρων, τὸ τοῦ κόσμου σῶμα ἐγεννήθη.” *Prep. Evang. p. 702.* See Viger’s notes, p. 67.

\* This is a suspected reading, and perhaps had no existence in the Greek text. See the notes, and var. readings here.

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all things, with bodies that are subject to sense, and to dissolution? Or, What sort of companionship of the Word, inseparable from Him who is in all time, but cannot be<sup>1</sup>, (i. e. as we are, subject to corruption), with that which always was, but never had an existence (of its own), so that he should call these Deities God? For, if He is truly God, He who exists in all time, but has not that he might be (as we are); so far as He existed not thus, He was no God. But if he be God, who was at all times, but never existed (of himself): whatever he might otherwise be, he is no God. And, What sentiment can be more impious than this? For, the two things are opposed in their natures;—this, which is apprehended by reason and knowledge; and that, which is to be considered by irrational sense:—this too, which is capable of action: and that, which is passive. How (I ask) can such opposites deserve one (and the same) name? For, this would be, as though a man should wonder at the science of the architect, but should attach the honour (due to him) to the work that was by him; and (so) invert the order (of things)! And, should any one name the ship, the shipmaster<sup>2</sup>; or the coachman<sup>3</sup>, the chariot with its horses; so likewise, would he act most foolishly, who should dare to name the Creation of God, Gods; when behold! it had not escaped him,—but he had openly confessed,—that they were bound up in the bands of God the Creator of all, and (affirmed, that they) were constituted out of the inanimate elements, fire, water, air, and earth! Nevertheless even this man thus (taught)!

47. But, What necessity can there now be, that I should bring to light, how the wise men collected themselves together in ranks, as it were, sectioned themselves off, separated, and mightily armed themselves against one another, just as in battle array, and met

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<sup>1</sup> That is, came into being such as ours is. See sect. 33, above.

<sup>2</sup> ܠܟܘܢܐܘܬܐ, Gr. κυβερνήτης.

<sup>3</sup> Syr. ܠܟܘܢܐܘܬܐ, Gr. ἡνίοχος. This argument is ably urged also by Athenagoras, Legat. pro Christ. p. mihi 68. seq.





in the likeness of men: and these they honoured with libations, fumes, blood, and the sacrifices of irrational animals: shewing by this means,—and in this one thing only did they relax their enmity towards one another,—that they all studiously gave their assent to this their error. And (again), when the truth was laid open to them, they opposed it! For it was right, that where their knowledge was correct, there should they have shewn their character to be firm: that they should have contended and warred for the truth; and, had it been necessary, they should have even died for it: (and) should have received it readily in the love (thereof), as men boasting themselves that they were Philosophers. These same persons were therefore, friendly to one another in this, that they brought themselves together for the sake of falsehood: and, about those things, on which it was unbecoming they should contend,—because of the hidden and unknown properties of these,—they contended as if it had been for the truth; readily too was their contention carried on about shadows, while they attacked and reproached one another, with innumerable wounding expressions. But, What need can there be, that (I should record) the contentions of the Philosophers against one another, their controversial expressions, and the common warfare which they set up, and in which they fell; since they availed themselves of human wisdom (only), and of the reasoning of the mortal mind: God the Teacher not having presented himself to them?

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<sup>7</sup> Our author seems here to allude to sentiments uttered by the leaders of the Sceptics. Suidas tells us (sub. voce *πυρρώνειοι*) that Arcnilochus said, “*τοῖος ἀνθρώποις νους γίνεται θνητοῖς, οκοινην ζευς ἡμέρην ἄγει.*” “Talis est mens mortalium, qualem ipsis diem Jupiter dederit.” And Euripides, “*τί δῆτα τοὺς παλαιπώρους βροτοὺς φρονεῖν λέγουσι. σοῦ γὰρ ἐξηρτήμεθα· δρῶμέν τε τοιαῦθ’, ἃ δὴ τυγχάνεις θέλων.*” “*Quid mentis miseris aiunt mortalibus inesse? Nam pendemus a nutu tuo, et agimus omnia, quæ vis.*” I give this as I find it in Suidas (Edit. 1705.) where the editor proposes certain emendations. If the reader will turn to Laertius (Edit. Wetsten, 1692, p. 585.) and to the notes of Menagius and Kühnius, on these places, he will find much said on these readings. The place of Euripides is found in the Supplices.

50. How was it then?—How, that those who contended about these things, had no God; when, behold! there was a multitude of Deities among them?—since that of Delphos<sup>1</sup>, and that of Lebadia<sup>2</sup>, was (each) a Diviner?—that of Colophon<sup>3</sup> gave responses?—that of Miletus<sup>4</sup> was also a Diviner?—and another was crying out from another quarter? Nevertheless, not even one of these could so teach these wise men, that they could apprehend the truth! All of them too worshipped these, as did their Fathers; and all the Greeks confessed, that they were gods: yet, they were not the more assisted in the discovery of the doctrines which are divine; when, behold! there was nothing hindering them from being forthwith (so) instructed in the truth, (or) from availing themselves of the Gods, who were on the earth and at hand, as (their) Teachers. Nor should they have injured, and reviled one another; but, should have ceased from dispute, and have enquired of the Gods about the matters of contention; and so have learned the truth, as it were from Physicians, and (thence) have received advantage. And first, it was

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plices. (Edit. Glasgow 1821, p. 283.) See the place with the notes.—So also Athenagoras, Legat. pro Christ. p. 55. and Lactantius. Much to the same effect will be found ascribed to them by Aristocles, Prep. Evang. Lib. xiv. cap. xiii. p. 759. seq.

<sup>1</sup> Delphos, Gr. οἱ Δελφοί. In Phocis, and said to be in the midst of all Greece, and of the earth as its navel, stood this celebrated city and Oracle, near the springs of Castalia.

<sup>2</sup> Lebadia, Gr. λεβαδία, and λεβύδεια, was near Phocis in Bœotia: it was famous for the Temple of Jupiter Trophonius, which it contained. Syr. ܠܒܕܝܐ. To the same effect Origen contra Cels. Lib. iii. p. 131. seq.

<sup>3</sup> Colophon, Gr. ἡ κολοφών. Famous for the Clarian Apollo, who gave responses there. Syr. ܟܘܠܘܦܘܢ. A city of Ionia.

<sup>4</sup> Miletus, Gr. Μίλητος, an ancient and large city of Ionia, where there was a Temple of the Didymean Apollo, which was burnt down by Xerxes. Ib. cap. iii. Syr. ܡܝܠܝܬܘܫ. Some exceedingly interesting and valuable matter on these, and other Oracles of Greece, as well as of other places, will be found in the Prep. Evang. See the index, under Oracula. Also in Theodoret, Græcar. affect. curatio, Serm. x. Tom. iv. p. 623. seq. The latter is particularly valuable: as is also Origen's account of them. (contra Cels. Lib. vii. p. 333. seq.)

the duty of the school of Epicurus to have learned not to be godless, and not to have subjected themselves to “*Rest*”<sup>5</sup> (as the chief good): nor so to have infatuated themselves with ridiculous (notions), as to ascribe to subtile and indivisible bodies<sup>6</sup> the power of making the universe; but to have persuaded themselves from the Gods, when (so) taught of the things respecting them. It was also the duty of the school of Aristotle,—who saw with their own eyes the Temples, Fanes, and Idols (that were) on earth: not one (only) but myriads (of these), in every city and place,—to have examined them as to their power: and, from the fact, no more to have confined their discussions about Providence, either to the (regions) above the heavens, or even to (those) above the moon<sup>7</sup>; but, to have persuaded themselves, that there were Gods also on the earth, and that they exercised a providential care over the men among whom they resided. And, as it was in their power to learn from these same their own (Deities), they should no more have contended with those that were arrayed against them, as to whether the soul was mortal, or immortal. They should therefore, have asked the God who was at hand, and (so) have received, as from the Gods, the true decision (of this question). Thus also, (it was the duty) of the Stoics; and thus too, of the Platonists: thus also, of the Sceptics who are termed Pyrrhonists<sup>8</sup>: and thus also, of those who were in former times styled the Philosophers of Physics, that they should not have desisted from inquiry as to the truth, nor have supposed, as those do who play at chess, that every thing coming into their mind was truth. They should, on the contrary, have asked the Gods who were residing among them about every thing that was unknown: but not even one of the Wise Men has done this, nor did it even

<sup>5</sup> See Sect. 19, above.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* Atoms. See also Theophilus ad Autolyceum. Lib. III. p. mihi 144 seq. where we have some admirable remarks on this subject.

<sup>7</sup> See Sect. 20, above: Note.

<sup>8</sup> Syr. ܠܘܢܘܨܝܘܬܝܘܢ. We have, sect. 49, ܠܘܢܘܨܝܘܬܝܘܢ. The ܘ has here taken place of the ܝ. The contrary occasionally takes place in proper names, in the Syriac, see sect. 30, above: Note.

enter his mind! Was it then, that they were godless, and evil-minded towards the Gods, that (the task) was unwelcome to them, and (that) they acted thus? But, thus were they all at once godless; and the Philosophers appear to have been particularly so, and much more wicked than those who were unintellectual: those (I say), who made it no unwelcome task to enquire of the Gods about the taking of wives; the taking of a journey; blindness, or the infirmity of the body:—these too, were readily heard: and to those, who so sought did (the Gods), not invidiously, give their divinations. But, behold! it was any thing but becoming in the wise, to have enquired of those Gods who were among them, and to whom they rendered worship and honour, respecting their bodies (only); but not about the healing of their souls. And, as not even one of these marvellous Philosophers did this; it remains, that we assure ourselves of one of two things; (viz.) Either, that these men were no Philosophers; or, that those (Deities) were no Gods. For if, when (these) were really Gods, they set them at nought; they were no Philosophers, but were fools and ignorant men: but, if they had in truth made any approach to the love of wisdom, and abounded in knowledge more than the many; it is clear that they would, with pure conscience, have laughed at the folly of the many; and it is likely (they did so).

51. But, if those who have been mentioned, were really Gods; Why was it, that the conversation which is on earth, happened to be that of their lives? Was it for the common advantage of all? If indeed this was the case; Why did they not give up those (their) vain stories, and preach to all men the things, that would aid in the acquirement of virtue? And, Why did they not give themselves to the enacting of laws for man, corrective of the common conduct? and (to the performance) of deeds, pointing out the life of virtue to all? And, Why was not their care more particularly exerted for healing the passions of the soul, than (the sufferings) of the body?—rather to deliver those who fled to them, from foolishness and ignorance, than from the loss of possessions, when they saw that men desired wisdom; that they were labouring night and day

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tavern-keepers, with men the refuse (of society), and harlots! And, Did these wise men (then) ask of the Gods the things advantageous to the Philosophers? There is no one who will say this of them!—nor, in like manner, how it was, that no instructing Deity presented himself to afford the erudition which would aid them<sup>1</sup>. But (the things asked) were,—as the Diviners (themselves) say,—the commodities and helps of life generally; the discovery of a slave, if one had happened to run away; of a broken vessel; the purchasing of an estate; merchandise; the taking of a wife<sup>2</sup>; or, other things similar to these. About these it was,

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*καθείται, καὶ τριβωνοφορία τὸ σχῆμα.*” It is added, “*Solebant enim, Philosophi barbam ad pedes usque promittere et pallium gestare.*” This passage seems to be quite in the spirit of that given by our author. There is another passage in Plutarch, which speaks of nourishing the hair as commendable: (Life of Lysander, 1st. par.) speaking of the image of Lysander as, “*εὖ μάλα κομωντος ἐπὶ τῷ παλαιῷ, καὶ πωγωνα καθειμένου γενναῖον,*” *well adorning the hair, after the ancient manner, and sending down a noble beard.* It is added, as a saying of Lycurgus, *that hair made the good still more becoming; the vicious, more frightful.* “*ἡ κόμη τοὺς μὲν καλοὺς, εὐπρεπεστέρους ὀρᾶσθαι ποιεῖ, τοὺς δὲ αἰσχρὺς, φοβερωτέρους.*” Theodoret (Serm. i. de Providentia, p. 321. Tom. iv.) speaks thus of the *beard* and *hair* of the Philosophers, together with the white robe, (τριβων.) “*Ἡ δὲ ἐν τριβωνί λευκῷ, καὶ πώγωνι μακρῷ, καὶ κόμη κεφαλῆς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὀριζομένη.*” κ.τ.λ. Hence we see too, that the τριβὼν was white. It was probably woollen, and the same as that worn by the *Soofee* Philosophers of the East; and so called because made of wool (صوف *soof*.) It should seem from a passage in Diog. Laert. that it was the moral Philosophers only, who wore their hair long and flowing. In vita Carnead...*ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἠθικοῖς μαλλον, οθεν καὶ ἐκομα καὶ ἐτρεφεν ουνχας.* ...“*ethicæ se magis devovit. Quocirca et cæsariem, et ungues nutriebat.*”

<sup>1</sup> Lactantius (Lib. ii. cap. iii. p. 105.) has some admirable remarks on this subject; as, “*Falsum vero intelligere, est quidem sapientiæ, sed humanæ: ultra hunc gradum procedi ab homine non potest, nisi doceatur a Deo...nota Ciceronis vox est: utinam tam facile vera invenire possem, quam falsa convincere.*”

<sup>2</sup> So Plutarch, who was probably copied here: (de defect. Orac. p. mihi 413. Tom. ii.)...*καταπιμπλαμενον αἰσχροων και αθεων ερωτηματων, ἃ τῷ θεῷ προβάλλουσιν οἱ μὲν ὡς σοφιστοῦ διάπειραν λαμβάνοντες, οἱ δὲ περὶ θεσαυρῶν ἢ κληρονομιῶν, ἢ γάμων παρανόμων*

that their admiration and reverence were called forth to their Gods; (and this) in the little blood of a cock, the immolation of a ram or of a bull; the (offering of) cups and bowls, or of a little wheat flower, or of purchased crowns! And, Had they any truth—teaching Deity, as to the things (comporting) with virtue, or to those which respected the healing of the soul? No, not (even) one! On this account, these Philosophers appear to me, to have laboured insolently in (their) warfare against one another, greatly to have aggravated their mutual differences, and to have departed (willingly) from the real knowledge of God: and accordingly, one might hear from them in words, of the Gods, the sons of the Gods, of Demigods, and of good Demons: but in deeds, every thing was adverse: and in opposing, they boasted themselves of opposition! Just as if one should be willing to point out the sun, with the luminaries that are in the heavens; but be unwilling to lift up his eyes to Him who is above (these): should cast down both his hands and soul to the earth, and seek among the clay and mud, the Powers that are in the heavens! In this manner therefore, had the whole race of men persuaded themselves, together with their Philosophers, and Kings,—through an estrangement of the intellect, and the error of wicked Demons,—that the rational and Divine Essence which is above the heavens, and beyond the universe, existed in place, below, among material bodies, and subject to the passions of both mortals, and immortals! And, since this entire estrangement of mind had infected the whole human race, Have we not soundly affirmed that God the Saviour, a Divine Revelation, and a common Helper of all, was required for this our state of life?

53. And<sup>3</sup> again, all had been led to such a state of insanity, that they even sacrificed their friends to those who were thought to be Gods: nor did they spare their own nature; on the contrary, they put to death, through

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*διερωτῶντες.*” “Oppletum obscenis et impiis quæstionibus, quas deo proponunt: alii eum tanquam sophistam tentantes; alii de thesauris, hæreditatibus, incestisve nuptiis sententiam scitantes.”

<sup>3</sup> Here again we have the Greek text, as preserved in the *Orat. de laudd.* Constant. cap. xiii. p. 533. C.

the madness and bondage of their minds, even their only children<sup>1</sup>, and the friends of their children! And, What madness can be greater than this, that (men) should sacrifice human beings, and pollute all their cities and houses with their own blood? And, behold! Do not all the Greeks bear testimony to these same things? And, Is not the whole of their histories filled with the records of them?<sup>2</sup>

54. For, the Phœnicians annually sacrificed (some of) their friends, and their only children to Saturn<sup>3</sup>! To the same again, was a man also sacrificed in Rhodes on the sixth of the month Conun (March)<sup>4</sup>! This same custom too

<sup>1</sup> This clause is wanting in the Greek.

<sup>2</sup> See also Clemens Alexand. Admon. ad Gentes. p. 27. seq. Edit. 1629. This argument is urged, Prep. Evang. Lib. i. cap. iv. p. 4. and the Gr. text found as cited above.

<sup>3</sup> This appears to be taken from Philo Byblius (Sanchoniathon,) as preserved in the Prep. Evang. cap. x. p. 40. and Lib. iv. cap. xvi. p. 156, in these words: “Ἔθος ἦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς, ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις συμφοραῖς τῶν κινδύνων, ἀντὶ τῆς πάντων φθορᾶς, τῷ ἠγαπημένον τῶν τέκνων τοὺς κρατοῦντας ἢ πόλεως ἢ ἔθνοὺς εἰς σφαγὴν ἐπιδιδόναι λύτρον τοῖς τιμωροῖς δαίμοσι. κατεσφάττοντο δὲ οἱ διδόμενοι μυστικῶς. We are then told, that *Israel*, who reigned in Phœnicia, and was there only another name for *Saturn*, had so sacrificed his son *Jeud* (Ἰεοῦδ); which in the Phœnician language meant “only son,” (μονογενεοῦς). This is apparently told as being the origin of their custom. We may observe however, that the name *Israel* is evidently taken from the Hebrew Bible, as is the name *Jeud* (Judah); for Israel certainly had such son. There is a blunder however, in the application; for, it was *Abraham* who laid his son on the altar for sacrifice; and that son’s name was *Isaac*, not *Jeud*. There is, moreover, another blunder here, for *Jahid* (ܝܗܝܕ, Syr. ܝܗܝܕ) must have signified only one; or *μονογενεῖς*, in the Phœnician.

<sup>4</sup> This is found in the Gr. as above cited, but defectively, and has been taken from Porphyry, Prep. Evang. p. 155. B. where it stands thus: “Ἐθύετο γὰρ καὶ ἐν Ρόδῳ μηνὶ μεταγειτριῶνι, ἕκτη ἰσταμένου ἀνθρώπου τῷ κρόνῳ. ὁ δὲ ἐπιπολὺ κρατῆσαν ἔθος μετεβλήθη· ἕνα γὰρ τῶν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ δημοσίᾳ κατακριθέντων, μέχρι τῶν κρονίων συνεῖχον· ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς ἐορτῆς, προαγαγόντες τὸν ἀνθρώπον ἔξο πυλῶν. ἀντικρὺ τοῦ Ἀριστοβούλης ἔδους, οἶνον ποτίσαντες ἔσφαττον.” Part of this is also found in Cyrill. Alexandr. against Julian. p. 128. seq. Edit. Spanh. It will be observed, that the Syriac translator has taken εδος in the sense of *image*, and Ἀριστοβουλη as a proper name, i.e. *Diana*.

greatly obtained, and was thus changed: They kept one of those, who had been publicly condemned to death, until the feast of Saturn; and, when the feast arrived, they brought the man out beyond the gate, over against the Image of Aristobule (Diana): they then gave him wine, and put him to death.

55. In the (place) also which is now called Salamis<sup>5</sup>, but formerly Coronéa, was a man sacrificed in the month named among the Cypriots Aphrodisius<sup>6</sup>, to Argaula' the daughter of Cecrops and daughter-in-law of Argaulis<sup>8</sup>! And this custom continued to the time of Diomedes; and was (then) so changed, that they sacrificed the man to Diomedes! And in one (and the same) inclosure was the Temple of Minerva, of Argaula, and of Diomedes. He then, who was to be sacrificed, was accordingly—when his equals in age<sup>9</sup> had led him three times round the altar, —stricken on the stomach with a lance by the priest. He was then wholly burnt on a fire that had been got together. This law however, Diphilus<sup>10</sup>,—who was king of Cyprus in the times of Seleucus the Theologian<sup>11</sup>,—abrogated: He also changed this custom for that of sacrificing a bull.

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<sup>5</sup> Syr. ܩܘܪܘܢܝܐ, imitating the form of the Greek case in Σαλαμῖνι. It is worth remarking here, that Porphyry,—from whom this passage is taken (Prep. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. xvi. pp. 155, 162.)—says, this place was formerly named *Coronea*, Κορωνεια: which appears to me, generally to have escaped the Geographers. This was the Salamis of Cyprus, as the context shews.

<sup>6</sup> Our March.

<sup>7</sup> Syr. ܐܪܓܘܠܐ. *Argaula*. It is usual with the Syrians thus to vary foreign words, as noted above. See Par. 30, note.

<sup>8</sup> Syr. ܐܪܓܘܠܝܕܘܨ, as before, and in imitation of the Greek case, Ἀργαυλίδος. Here the Translator has taken the term Νύμφη, in the theological sense of *daughter-in-law*, Syr. ܐܪܘܨܐ. In which, I think, he is wrong. See also Vossius de Idololatria, Lib. i. cap. xl.

<sup>9</sup> Syr. ܫܠܘܠܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ, lit. *the children of his stature*: i. e. of similar age. This seems to me to be a hypercritical imitation of the Greek ἐφήβων, of Porphyry.

<sup>10</sup> Syr. ܕܝܦܝܠܘܨ, *Diphilus*: which is, no doubt, the error of some Scribe.

<sup>11</sup> Syr. ܫܠܘܨ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ. *The Seleucus*

56. The law too, whereby men were sacrificed in Heliopolis (a city) of Egypt, was abrogated by Amosis, as Manetho attests in what he wrote about primitive justice<sup>1</sup>.

57. Men were also sacrificed to Juno, and were chosen just as immaculate calves were sought after, and were slain! There were three moreover, sacrificed in one day! But Amosis commanded that equivalents of wax, resembling these, should be substituted for them.

58. They also sacrificed a man to the Omadian<sup>3</sup> Bacchus in Chios<sup>4</sup>, when they had torn him (to pieces)! and also in Tenedos<sup>5</sup>, as Euelpis the Carystian<sup>6</sup> affirms!

*Ieucus who spoke of God*: a periphrasis for the Greek θεολόγος. He was, as Viger thinks, (notes ib.) a Grammarian of Alexandria, who wrote commentaries on most of the Poets, &c. and a hundred books on the Gods; and, that on this last account he was termed the *Theologian*. See also Suidas sub voce. This place is also cited by Cyrill of Alexandria, Edit. Spanh. p. 128, with considerable varieties of reading from that of Eusebius. for κορωνεία. κορωνίδι: for Ἀγραυλίδος, Ἀγραυλίδως: ib. for χρονων, καιρων: ib. for αυθρωπον, αυρα: ib. νηθεισαν πυράν, αφθεισαν πυράν." The Syr. Translator agrees with the first, giving ܘܢܝܘܟܝܘܢ. And, on the whole, the readings of the Prep. Evang. are much the best. In the Orat. de laudd. Constant, p. 533. D. the text is defective.

<sup>1</sup> This is an exact translation of the passage preserved in Eusebius (Prep. Evang. ib.), so much so, that the very order, ellipses, &c. of the Greek are followed. Gr. Μάνεθως. Syr. ܡܘܢܝܘܟܝܘܢ. Ἡλίου πολεῖ τῆς Αἰγύπτου. Syr. ܡܘܢܝܘܟܝܘܢ ܡܢܝܘܟܝܘܢ.—This Amosis was, according to some, the Pharaoh of the Exodus, Prep. Evang. Lib. x. cap. x. pp. 490, 493, &c.

<sup>2</sup> This too is found in Porphyry, the Prep. Evang. ib. and Viger's notes, ib. p. 11. it. Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib.

<sup>3</sup> Syr. ܡܘܡܝܘܢܝܘܢ ܡܘܡܝܘܢܝܘܢ. for ܡܘܡܝܘܢܝܘܢ, or ܡܘܡܝܘܢܝܘܢ, &c. The Greek (Prep. Evang. ib.) having, τω ωμαδίω Διονύσω. *Omadius* here, according to the lexicographers, is, i. q. ωμηστης. *crude-devouring*, and is a title of Bacchus. Plutarch moreover, uses this word (Themistocles, p. mihi 118.) when he tells us, that Themistocles *offered up three captives, at the suggestion of Euphrantides the Prophet, to his Deity*: i. e. ὠμηστη Διονύσω.

<sup>4</sup> Syr. ܡܘܡܝܘܢܝܘܢ.

<sup>5</sup> Syr. ܡܘܢܝܘܟܝܘܢ.

<sup>6</sup> Syr. ܘܢܝܘܟܝܘܢ ܘܢܝܘܟܝܘܢ ܘܢܝܘܟܝܘܢ. Gr. Εὐελπὶς ὁ Καρύστιος. See also the note of Viger, ib. p. 11. In Cyrill. Alexan. against Julian



Mithra<sup>1</sup>, affirms, that the sacrifices of men entirely ceased every where, in the days of Hadrian the Emperour<sup>2</sup>.

61. A Virgin was also annually sacrificed to Minerva<sup>3</sup>, in Laodicea<sup>4</sup> of Syria; but now a hart is.

62. The Carthaginians<sup>5</sup> also, who were of Libya<sup>6</sup>, made the same sacrifice; which Iphicrates<sup>7</sup> caused to cease. The Dumatians<sup>8</sup> too, of Arabia, sacrificed a boy annually: him they buried beneath the altar, and this they used as an Idol!

63. Philarchus too has left it on record, that all the Greeks commonly sacrificed<sup>9</sup> men, before they went out to battle<sup>9</sup>!

64. But I omit the Thracians and Scythians<sup>10</sup>; and also the Athenians<sup>11</sup>, who put to death the daughter of

<sup>1</sup> Syr. ܘܡܝܬܪܐ. See a very curious note on these mysteries. Origen contra Cels. p. 8. line 44. Spencer's notes, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Syr. ܘܠܘ ܘܠܘ ܘܠܘ. It is worthy of remark, that the Oracles became silent, and also that the Miracles of the Christian Church ceased about this time.—Wanting in Orat. de laudd. Constant.

<sup>3</sup> Syr. ܘܠܘܢܐ. Gr. Ἀθηνᾶ. Orat. de laudd. Constant, p. 534. A.

<sup>4</sup> This is a continuation of the same place, from Porphyry, Prep. Evang. ib. Syr. ܘܠܘܢܐ. Gr. Λαοδικεῖα.

<sup>5</sup> Syr. ܘܠܘܢܐ. Gr. Καρχηδόνιοι.

<sup>6</sup> Syr. ܘܠܘܢܐ. Gr. Λιβύη.

<sup>7</sup> Syr. ܘܠܘܢܐ. Gr. Ἰφικράτης. It is not very certain who this was: some attribute this to Gelo, a prince of Syracuse. See Viger's notes, ib. p. 12.

<sup>8</sup> Syr. ܘܠܘܢܐ. Gr. Δουμάτιοι. See Viger's notes. Perhaps the Arabian *Dumat* 'l Jandal, Arab. دومة الجندل. The latter word is, probably a modern adjunct, given by way of distinction. This place (See Pocock. Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 95. Ed. White) was famous for the worship of an idol named *Wadd* (ܘܘܕ), our *Woden*, or the Indian *Bhuddha*. The sacrifice of the *Boy* was an imitation, no doubt, of that of Isaac, as were evidently the human sacrifices of Phœnicia, noticed above. Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 534. A. but defectively.

<sup>9</sup> This is also continued from the same place, (Prep. Evang. p. 156.) Syr. ܘܠܘܢܐ. Gr. φίλαρχος. Orat. de laudd. ib. the name omitted.

<sup>10</sup> Syr. ܘܠܘܢܐ. Gr. Θρακας και Σκυθας.

<sup>11</sup> Syr. ܘܠܘܢܐ. Gr. Αθηναῖοι.

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too, who wrote the history of the Romans, whose name is Dionysius (of Halicarnassus) has said, that Jupiter and Apollo required upon a time, human sacrifices from those in Italy who were called the Aborigines. These however, had sacrificed to the Gods that select part (Tithes) both of their fruits and flowers, which was required of them. But, as they had offered no human sacrifices, they fell into every sort of calamity. Nor did they obtain any relief from these evils, until they had decimated themselves<sup>1</sup>! Thus therefore, having selected a tithe of the

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will then read, They added to these not fewer than, &c., placing  $\searrow$ , before  $\mu\sigma\lambda\lambda\lambda$ . Lactantius (De falsa religione Lib. i. cap. xxi.) refers to this in these words: "Pescennius Festus in Libris historiarum per satiram refert, Carthaginienses Saturno humanas hostias solitos immolare, et cum victi essent ab Agathocle rege Siculorum: iratum sibi deum putavisse; itaque, ut diligentius piaculum solverent, ducentos nobilium filios immolasse." He gives some other instances too, which may be added to the above: viz. "Apud Cyprios (See Sect. 55, above) humanam hostiam Jovi Teucus immolavit: idque sacrificium posteris tradidit: quod est nuper Hadriano imperante sublatum." Ib. cap. xx.—"Erat lex apud Tauros...ut Dianæ hospites immolarentur: et id sacrificium multis temporibus celebratum est." (See Sect. 53, 54, above). Ib.—"Ne Latini quidem hujus immanitatis expertes fuerunt, siquidem Latialis Juppiter etiam nunc sanguine colitur humano."—"Non minoris insanie judicanda sunt publica illa sacra, quorum alia sunt matris deum, in quibus homines suis ipsi virilibus litant;...alia Virtutis, quam eandem Bellonam vocant, in quibus ipsi sacerdotes, non alieno, sed suo cruore sacrificant," &c. which is probably the case noticed above (Note 15.) by Eusebius, and is identical with that of the priests of Baal, mentioned in 1 Kings xviii. 28. To this horrid list of vices, Theophilus ad Autolycom, (Lib. iii. p. 143. seq.) adds several others too disgusting to be mentioned, and yet many of them recommended by some of the most famous Philosophers! See also Clemens Alexand. Admon. ad gentes. p. 22. seq. which is cited here in the Prep. Evang. p. 157. Similar practices prevailed among the Druids of Gaul and Great Britain as Cæsar intimates, as also among the Nomades of Tartary.

<sup>1</sup> The account of this is cited at length in the Prep. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. xvi. p. 158. seq. as taken from Lib. i. of the work of Hallicarnassensis: it occurs also Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 534. B. with certain variations. This circumstance is said to have happened to the Pelasgi in Italy, and to have been the cause of their migrating into distant countries. We are told, ib. p. 159. B. that Myrsilus the Lesbian relates much the same things as having happened to the Tyrrhenians. The author tells us moreover, that these offerings were made to Jupiter,

men, and sacrificed them to Jupiter and Apollo, they became the cause of (their) country's ruin! And, so far had this entire corruption of soul destroyed human life, that no other hope of salvation could be prescribed, except that which was from God the Saviour: this alone, and no other, was wanting to the race that is mortal.

65. And thus, in these (distresses) of soul were all men, in every place: nor, was it enough for them, after these things, to act basely; but, they were also harassed by innumerable other incurable calamities from without, in every place and city. For, all nations at once, throughout the whole creation, Barbarians and Greeks, were so inflamed by means of the maddening deeds of Demons,—

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Apollo, and the Cabiri: “τῶ Διὶ, καὶ τῶ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς καβείροις:” and, that this decimation of men (young men, it should seem) was called for by the Oracle, and enforced by the magistrates, —notwithstanding the migrations which hence took place,—until Hercules put an end to it, by commanding that images of men, dressed up as for the sacrifice, should be annually thrown into the Tibur. (Edit. Steph. 1546. p. 16.) It should seem, from accounts now before the public, that human sacrifices still prevail in the East to some extent. In the district of Ganjam in Hindustan, a tribe of natives called *Khoonds* annually sacrifice a human victim, in order to secure good crops. The Chieftains, it is said, of the different districts, take it by turns to offer this sacrifice annually: at other times, the offering is made to avert, or remove, some evil. These Chieftains then, have a child, sometimes children, purchased, or taken, in their marauding expeditions in the low country, to bring up for this express purpose: the more full grown and perfect, the better. This victim is put to death by the blow of an axe: the blood is sprinkled on the Idol, which is the image of a Peacock,—carved in wood,—with three heads. The body is then divided into as many parts as there are districts, and again into as many small pieces as there are families, who bury each his portion either in his house, or about his fields. It is stated in a Paper in “the Journal of the Asiatic Society,” No. xiii. p. 136, that “this horrid custom ...is in a fair way of being entirely rooted out by the vigorous measures of Lord Elphinstone.” The writer of the same paper, tells us of mounds in Southern India, which he thinks are composed of the ashes of sacrificial victims. His words are (ib. p. 135.)—“I must admit, though reluctantly, the possibility of some of them being the remains of great sacrificial holocausts performed by the Rishis of old in their solitudes, since the ancient annals of the country abound in allusions both to bestial and human sacrifices...on a fearful scale of magnitude.” He alludes (ib.) to the Druidical sacrifices made formerly in our own land.

were so stirred up by the grievous and calamitous disease (of these), that neither intercourse nor agreement existed among men,—that so far,—and farther,—was the great body of (our) common nature forcibly urged on, that, in every corner of the earth in which men lived, they were, both from their usages and laws, in a state of warfare with one another. Nor was it this only, but they were also so fierce in the commotions and wars, in which they opposed each other, that, always and throughout their whole lives, they so engaged themselves that no one who desired (this), could take a voyage for the purpose of merchandize to any place, unless he (first) armed himself as for war. In the villages and fields too, the Agriculturists put on swords, and furnished themselves with an excess of equipment, over and above that of the implements necessary for the cultivation of the earth. Men considered it (also) a virtue to rob, and steal from, their neighbours<sup>1</sup>: and, to our affirmation do all the writings, both of the Greeks and Barbarians, give testimony. The Books also, which are among the Jews, teach (us), that, from times prior to Augustus and Tiberius,—in whose days our Saviour appeared,—there were in the world, in every city and village, kings and Toparchs fully (established) from the earliest times.

66. The Jews therefore, immediately after the egress from Egypt by Moses, when they had come into Palestine, expelled the Kings, thirty<sup>3</sup> in number, from their cities. Those however, who were not extirpated, remained and availed themselves of their population, local residences, and

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<sup>1</sup> As indeed the marauding tribes of Turcomans, Tartars, Bedouins, and others in the East still do.—Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. D. but with certain discrepancies.

<sup>2</sup> This is said also in the *Preparatio Evangelica*, (Lib. i. cap. iv. p. 10. D.) and is there advanced with reference to the Roman Empire being consolidated under Augustus, and thence enjoying—under one comprehensive government—a peace, unknown to it before. So also here, Book III. Sect. 1. seq. and Book v. Sect. 52.

<sup>3</sup> The Kings enumerated in Joshua xii. 24. are in the Heb. Bible *thirty-one*, in the Sept. Greek *twenty-nine*, in number. Our author thought it sufficient, perhaps, to give the round number thirty.



whole of Libya and of Egypt, subjected themselves to all these Princes and Kings, as if they had been Gods! They had too, thousands of different Gods, both in the villages and cities, as they also had of kings, who enacted laws adverse to them, and were the inventors of every form of Deity. These were they, from whom many places in Egypt received their names, as well as laws; which they still retain. These Deities moreover, and Laws, so affected those who were subject to them, that they made them at once, both enemies and haters to those who were in their neighbourhood; and that hence, they gave up the whole period of their lives to contention! And they were as much excited against one another, as if they had employed the many princes of the vilest Demons! Hence also, the error of a multiplicity of Gods<sup>1</sup> began and obtained dominion,—like some evil and destructive disease of soul,—over the rest of the countries of the heathen! The Egyptians were moreover, (occupied) more than all other men in the worship of the Gods; and more able were they than all others, scientifically to honour them. But, that such fruits were the recompence of their worship, Do not thou (now) enquire. For, the causes of peace and mutual agreement, now so visible to the eyes, had no existence in former times; on the contrary, every thing opposed to these. On this account they were, during the whole period of their lives, harassed with wars and contentions against one another; and (hence), they filled their lands with their own blood, and with the slaughter of themselves; these very Deities apportioning to them, as a recompence for their worship, these and similar doings!

68. If however, these things are not known to all; yet Who, of those that are fond of reading of the affairs of the Greeks, can be ignorant of them?—of the war (for

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<sup>1</sup> This seems to assign the origin of Idolatry to Egypt: the plains of Shinar (Gen. xi. 2. seq. comp. Rev. xvii. 5.) seem to me to lay a better claim to this. Egypt may, indeed, have adorned it much with its science: but so did Babylon. (See Is. xlvii. 12, 13. it. ib. xiv. 12—14. with the Commentators on these places.) Greece perhaps got much of its Idolatry from Egypt, while the East was more particularly supplied with this from Babylon. See also Vossius de Idololatria, passim.





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(to them): or, if they were possessed of power, it is likely that this would be fully effective, either of good, or of evil. Now, if they were in their nature beneficent Deities, remaining too on the earth, and occupying the middle part of the cities; they would not have evinced this sufficiently, unless for the advantage and safety of those among whom they lived. But, if they were wicked Demons, they would be engaged in every thing opposed to goodness. What then, can constitute a surer proof as to these things, than the fruits which (grew) out of their government; for, "*from its fruits is the tree known*<sup>1</sup>."

71. It is time therefore, that we enquire whether the wars and contentions—not of enemies, nor yet of Barbarians who arose against the Greeks, but of the Greeks themselves, who subscribed to the Gods of their fathers, and were infuriated against one another;—were these fruits: the Gods too being within (their cities), and nearer than the (very) gates, and daily honoured by their citizens. What (then) did they give, worthy of this worship, to those who so worshipped them? Was it, first of all, peace? that they might live a life of ease and comfort?—and thence, laws that were efficient, and preservative of every thing good? If indeed, the things just now said were of this sort; there is no necessity we should doubt of the existence of good governours. But, if the extreme of evils had taken hold of the whole family of the Greeks:—the Gods being more numerous than the inhabitants: nor was it, that they were honoured in every city only, but also in every house:—and, (if) when they were (so) honoured, they supplied nothing more to those who honoured them, than the slaughter of wars, the desolation of villages, the rasing of cities, captivity, and spoil; the Greeks being inflamed against the Greeks by these things:—What can there be wanting to our knowing, and (thence) affirming, one of the two things supposed (above)? For, either these Gods could do nothing, because they were nothing: and thus, were far from being the cause of the evils: or, they possessed some

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<sup>1</sup> Matt. xii. 33. The reading here, as elsewhere, differs slightly from the Peschito.

power, and were the cause of these: or, that they permitted these things to be so: or, that they themselves did them. If then, they were the doers of these evils, it would thus seem, that they should be styled the *Princes of evil*. But if, when these evils were done by others, they connived (at them), they were again, the betrayers of their Friends: they were not (their) helpers: but (their) deceivers; and were therefore, vicious.

72. For, if they were no Gods, and in their nature by no means superior to ourselves, but, were otherwise men who had realized sincerity through their excellency and wisdom; Would they not have interposed themselves, and have relieved their Friends from contention?—either persuading them by reason, or, saving them by power, and severing them to a distance from each other? counselling them also in the things which were becoming?—when acting (I say only) as good men; and, as being their Friends, relieving them from their (mutual) enmity, and bringing them together for peace?

73. How then;—for good men would have done this, had they happened (to be circumstanced as just mentioned):—did the Gods (act), being present with the Greeks and conversant among them, and honoured by all? Did they neglect their Friends, giving them up to bloodshed, desolation, and mutual slaughter? and, Why? Because they were unable to help them? or, being able, were unwilling? For if, when able, they were unwilling; it was no office of helpers which they performed for those who honoured them, but of enemies and deceivers! For those, who can deliver from calamities, but do it not, are in nothing better than enemies. But if, when willing, they were unable; they merited desertion on account of their weakness. And, if they were thus circumstanced, the reputation of their being Gods was superfluous: nor did men truly ascribe to these the title of helpers; inasmuch as they did not help them to salvation, because of the weakness of their own nature.

74. But, if they advance a superintending fate<sup>2</sup>, such

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<sup>2</sup> On this subject, generally, see the Prep. Evang. Lib. vi. Proœm. p. 236. seq. and cap. vii. Theodoret, Græc. affect. curat. Serm. vi. p. 562.

as to take hold of every thing, and even of the Gods themselves, and (affirm), that this was the cause of the wars, and of every thing which came to pass among men; this will overthrow the whole course of our life, as it will make every thing that is (virtuous) among us, vain; and a doctrine false<sup>1</sup> and vicious will, instead of this, make its ingress among us. And thus also, will the purposes of the Gods themselves be rendered vain, since they can do nothing but that which has been fated. The things, which this makes it necessary should happen, (shall happen) even when the Gods will (them) not! And thus again, will the anxiety of those who reverence these Gods become vain and empty, since they render honour to beings who can effect nothing.

75. But in this were these astonishing (Deities) caught, that they had not the power to help against the evils of mankind; that they were openly seen delighting in base and abominable stories about their own divinity, and in the wicked and unlawful sacrifices of men. From these things therefore, it becomes us to judge of these same Gods, as doing such things among the men of those times; because, as their nature was attached to evils and to wars, they were convicted by their own deeds.

76. But now in our times, every anxiety about the Beings just mentioned has suddenly lost its power; and the things belonging to this ancient disease have been cut off: every city, region, and locality, among the heathen, now remaining in the profoundest peace! The whole of Asia, Europe, Lybia, and Egypt, which were formerly not better than a ship in a storm, on which the violent winds and tempests had fastened from every quarter, and had thus far,—and still farther by the northern blast,—contributed to her immersion; are now so righted by the happy guidance of the helm of peace, in a serenity that is peaceful and a calm that is resplendent, that they subscribe to the ONE Ship-governour of all things. Such are all things now,

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Clemens Alexand. Strom. Lib. iv. p. 495. C. Lactant. Lib. iii. cap. xxix. Our author against Hierocles, p. 541. Edit. 1628. Plutarch, Libellus de Fortuna, and Ephrem Syrus, Tom. ii. Syr. et Lat. p. 451. seq. where our term  $\text{ܐܘܢܝܢ}$ , is applied again and again.

<sup>1</sup> Syr.  $\text{ܐܘܢܝܢ}$ , for  $\text{ܐܘܢܝܢ}$ , beyond all doubt.

since he that was in Delphos has been desolated ; since that Pythian, (I say) has been extinguished, and since the recollection of the rest of the Gods has been wholly withholden from the hearing of mankind. Nor have such things as that necessity of fate, or (those) war-loving Demons, agitated the cities. For, since the doctrine of our Saviour has obtained throughout the whole creation of man, in every city, village, and place ; and again, since no race of Demons, but He alone who is the King of all, God, and that Creator of the whole world, THE WORD OF GOD, has been made known and honoured by all men, Barbarians and Greeks ; every word about fate has been rendered unavailing : every war-making necessity too has been removed far away : the Divine peace-making WORD is hymned throughout the whole earth : the race of man is reconciled to God its Father ; and peace and love have been restored to all nations ! The things, which pertained to the Gods, are now no more done ;—nor are those which set up the system of warfare (that men carried on) against one another, when those (their) ancient temples occupied the highest positions throughout the whole earth,—(now that these) have fallen under the extremity of desolation, and all those Gods, which formerly uttered their cry in every place, have either from shame or fear, been reduced to silence<sup>2</sup> : every city too, nation, and region, have by means of the right hand of love, been made at once to enjoy peace, and are delighting them-

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<sup>2</sup> According to Plutarch,—who lived in the times of Trajan, and wrote a very valuable work on the failing of the Oracles (*De defectu Oraculorum*),—excepting Lebadia in Bœotia alone, the Oracles had every where become silent, and their fanes ruined. His words are: (*Prep. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. xvi. p. 205.*)...“ οὐδαμου γὰρ ἀλλαχοθι νυν, ἢ περὶ Λεβιάδιαν ἢ Βοιωτία παρέχει τοῖς χρῆζουσιν ἀρύσασθαι μαντικῆς· τῶν δ' ἄλλων τὰ μὲν σιγῇ, τὰ δὲ παντελῆς ἐρημία κατέσχευ.” This is followed (*ib.*) by an account from the same author, of the general decay of demoniacal influence, which, according to him, commenced in the times of Tiberius Cæsar:—the very time,—as Eusebius proceeds to remark—when our Lord cast them out, and declared that he saw Satan fall from heaven like lightning. He tells us too, (*ib. p. 164. D.*) that human sacrifices, which had every where prevailed, entirely ceased in the times of Hadrian—when the Christian religion had become generally known—as noticed above.

selves under one government in the deepest established order and agreement. In what manner of life all, both among the Greeks and the Barbarians, existed formerly, when they honoured the Gods far more than their own friends, there is now no need we should shew at length, having shortly laid these things open already, except (to say) that these ancient things are, as such, matters of record.

77. But, Why should any one say that these are things of recent occurrence? since, as far back as (the death) of Alexander of Macedon, not long before the manifestation of our Saviour, many governments arose. For Arridæus<sup>1</sup>, the brother of Alexander, received the Kingdom of Macedon: of those that were in Europe, Antipater took possession; Ptolemy, of Egypt and Alexandria; Seleucus became Governor of Phœnicia and Cœlo-Syria: Philotos, of Cilicia; Antigonus, of Asia; Casander, of Caria; Leonatus, of the Hellespont; Eumenes, of Paphlagonia; and Lysimachus, of those parts that bordered upon Thrace. From this time these, with those who had received their governments, poured forth as rivers against one another in war. For, Ptolemy the son of Lagus, marched fifteen times out of Egypt. Seleucus too, met Ptolemy King of the Macedonians, and was killed. Perdicas also, entered Egypt with an army. Ptolemy took Cyprus, and Demetrius seized upon Syria. Another too, went forth to another place, and, with the violence usually attendant on robbery, seized upon those who resided on his borders.

78. Thus therefore, during this same time, were things brought to pass one after another in every quarter of the world. When the worship of many Gods prevailed, there was neither peace nor agreement; while mutual enmity abounded. Sacred places, Fanes, and Temples too, were abundantly appropriated to these in every city. With

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<sup>1</sup> Syr. אררידוס, for אררידוס. This is, no doubt, the Arridæus, Ἀρριδαῖος of Diodorus Siculus: who, as he says, was the son of Philip, now received the name of Philip, and was made king. His words are:... εὐθὺς αὖ βασιλεὺς κατεστήσαν τον φιλιππου υιον Ἀρριδαῖον, και μετωνόμασαν φίλιππον. (Bibl. Tom. VIII. II.) The authors, therefore, of the Universal History are wrong when they say, that this man was the Son of Roxana, and named Alexander.

many votive offerings were these temples adorned. Much talk too was engaged in respecting these Gods, by the kings of those times, as was also by the people, the inhabitants of villages, and of every (other) place; so that they honoured with images and altars these (Deities) of their fathers, in their houses, their very treasuries, and inner chambers. Nevertheless, when thus circumstanced, they were no better than demoniacs whose souls had been perverted by madness, (and) that during their whole lives, they polluted themselves with the blood of their own countrymen! And truly demoniacal were they in their wars with one another, and in their pertinacity in the reduction of cities: the demons, the leaders astray of the world, being their helpers in these matters!

79. Those too who were thought to be Gods, who gave out divinations, and foreknowledge (of things to come) to their worshippers, were not so discerning as to foreknow, or to foretel, their own destruction<sup>3</sup>: which happened to them all, at the manifestation of our Saviour among mankind! This too is a mighty proof of their inferiority, as it is a well grounded reproach on the divinations which were formerly published among all the Greeks. Nor did any one of the Diviners indeed, foretel that manifestation of our Saviour<sup>4</sup>, which (has taken place) among men; nor yet, the

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<sup>2</sup> To the same effect, the *Oratio de laudd. Constant. cap. ix. p. 517. C. seq.*

<sup>3</sup> Eusebius does, nevertheless, give a passage from Porphyry, (*Prep. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. xvi. p. 204.; see also p. 238.*) in which Apollo is made to speak of their failing. The context, however, in this case is sufficient to shew, that this revelation was not put forth until the thing foretold had come to pass. This is followed (*ib.*) by a quotation, noticed above (*par. 76.*), from Plutarch, on the general failing of the Oracles. See Viger's notes on both.

<sup>4</sup> Yet it is certain that very many intimations of "the coming of the Just One" had got abroad among the heathen; and, of this, the *Preparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius presents many striking examples. *Libb. ix. x. &c.* see also the *Oratio Constantini ad Sanctor. cæt. cap. xviii. seq.* These however, did not originate with the Oracles.—All this was indeed, foretold by Isaiah (*chap. xvii. 7. &c.*) according to Theodoret. *Edit. Gaisford, p. 395,* and fulfilled in the times of Constantine. See *ib. p. 412. seq.* where he more than intimates that ALL had been fulfilled, just as our author has done in many places.

new doctrine which has been given by Him to all the nations. Neither did that Pythian (Apollo), nor any other of the great Demons, foreknow his own destruction; nor did he prophesy respecting Him who was to come (to be) the destroyer and uprooter of them all; nor yet, did he foresee respecting all those of the nations, both Greeks and Barbarians, who should leave the error of a plurality of Gods, and acknowledge the God who is over all.

80. What Diviner<sup>1</sup> then, or Enchanter? What Demi-god<sup>2</sup>, Demon, or God, has foreshewn by divination, that these their beauties should be extinguished, when He should be manifested, who was to be a *new thing*<sup>3</sup> in the life of man, and (is) the “*knowledge*<sup>4</sup> of God” who is above and over all, and whose worship has now been communicated to all nations? Who is he (I ask), that has prophesied of the destruction of their Temples, and of their own utter ruin? and, Who,—supposing of these Images of gold and silver which are every where, whose fusion was by fire, and whose change as to appearance was quite useless, were supremely serviceable to man;—that, as (these) their Gods were (but) molten, they should, by way of contempt and derision, be afflictively cut to pieces? Which (I ask) of the Gods has ever put (this) on record? And, How was it with their supporters, that they lent no aid to their Temples, when these were rased to the ground by men? And, How were those circumstanced who, in former times were engaged in creating wars, that in their own calamities they should look with complacency on their uprooters, who were in the profoundest peace<sup>5</sup>? But, the

<sup>1</sup> De laudd. Constant. ib. p. 517. D. seq.

<sup>2</sup> Syr. ܐܠܗܝܡܝܢ, Gr. ἡμιθεος.

<sup>3</sup> This is, perhaps, an allusion to Jer. xxxi. 22, where the Syriac Peschito text has, The Lord createth a *new thing in the earth*, ܐܠܗܝܡܝܢ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ. Our Syriac has, ܐܠܗܝܢܐ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ.

<sup>4</sup> Alluding, perhaps, to 2 Cor. iv. 6.: or, it may be, to the term *Wisdom of God*, 1 Cor. i. 24., so frequently given to Christ in this work.

<sup>5</sup> Cicero adduces the tyrant of Sicily, when he had robbed the fane of Proserpine at Locris, and was sailing homeward with a prosperous gale, saying these words: “Videtisne, amici, quam bona a Diis immortalibus navigatio sacrilegis datur?” A similar thing is said of Gelo, and the Olympian Jupiter (ib. Nat. Deor. iii. 34.), and also of Æsculapius, &c.

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pollute their own daughters in unlawful wedlock<sup>1</sup>: and of these, the extent was such, that (“the natural use of”) the woman was interdicted. The wickedness too, of the Philosophers themselves, as also the intercourse with men which is out of nature, had reduced all the Greeks to insanity<sup>2</sup>. Besides there were some, by whom it was thought right to conceal (their own while living) in the earth in Sepulchres<sup>3</sup>; and by others, to deliver (these) to the flames! Others however, gave up these things as impious<sup>4</sup>, and exposed their dead

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allowed marriage with sisters, daughters, and mothers, on the authority of Bardesanes. See p. 279. *ib.*

<sup>1</sup> As just cited from Bardesanes. And, in his days, many of these things were practised in Media, Egypt, Phrygia, and Galatia, as carried thither by the Magi.

<sup>2</sup> See Viger’s note (*ib.* p. 25. “παρὰ Πέρσας.”) Bardesanes too, (*ib.* p. 276. D.) charges the Philosophers of Greece with this detestable crime)... “παρ Ἑλλησι δὲ καὶ οἱ σοφοὶ ἐρωμένους ἐχόντες, οὐ ψεγόνται.” (*Ib.* p. 277.) This is said to have been practised under the sanction of the laws in Gaul. That Socrates, the most virtuous of all the Philosophers, was addicted to this practice, many ancient authors of respectability may be adduced to shew: and Theodoret with others asserts, that it was recommended by Plato in his Republic. See Theod. Græc. affect. curat. Serm. ix. p. mihi 618. D. Tom. iv. Viger is certainly mistaken when he imagines that the *Zerasdas* of Theodoret, means Plato; it being self evident, as I think, that the Persian *Zerdusht*, (زردشت) or Gr. *Zoroaster*, must have been intended. Notes to the Prep. Evang. p. 25. seq. where it may be seen, that Autolytus accuses both the Epicureans and the Stoics of the same crime. Cæsarius imputes the same to the Chaldæans and Babylonians, (*ib.*) See also the Prep. Evang. (p. 11.) and Theodoret, Gr. affect. curat. Ed. Gaisford, p. 472. seq. It may be doubted perhaps, whether some of these charges can be substantiated. See Luzacii de Theodoro judicium, prefixed to Dr Gaisford’s work.—These abominations are again touched upon, Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. x. p. 161, and Origen contra Cels. Lib. v. p. 248. seq.

<sup>3</sup> These particulars seem to be resumed more specifically near the end of this section. Our text has } here, for } I presume. I have, therefore, translated it by *in sepulchres*: alluding, perhaps, to the sacrificing, and otherwise destroying, of children.

<sup>4</sup> So, in the Prep. Evang. (p. 11. C.)... “κυσὶ καὶ οἰωνοῖς τοὺς οἰκείους νεκρὸν προτιθέναι τοὺς πάλαι τοῦτο πράττοντας.” (See also Plutarch, Tom. ii. p. 499.) So also Bardesanes, who attributes this to the Medes, &c. (*ib.* p. 277.) “Οἱ Μηδοὶ παντες τοῖς μετὰ σπουδῆς τρεφόμενοι κυσὶ, τοὺς νεκρὸν ἔτι ἐμπνέοντες παραβάλλουσι.” Theodoret says,

(only) to the dogs and birds of prey. Others murdered those who came to them as guests<sup>5</sup>! Others too, feasted themselves on human flesh<sup>6</sup>! And again, there were those who, when their friends were in the agonies (of death), sacrificed them and feasted on them, before they expired<sup>7</sup>! Others, who were approaching old age, they threw from rocks<sup>8</sup>! Others they gave up to strangulation<sup>9</sup>! Others<sup>10</sup> they threw

on the same subject:...“ οὐκ ἔτι δ’ οὔτε ὕρκανοὶ, οὔτε Κάσπιοι τοὺς κύνας τοῖς τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐκτρέφουσι σώμασιν.” (p. 615. see also p. 614.) See also Cicero. Tusc. Quæst. Lib. i. cap. xlv.

<sup>5</sup> So Bardesanes. (Prep. Evang. p. 275. B.) “φυλὴ τις Ἰνδῶν, οἵτινες τοὺς ἐμπίπτοντες ξένους ἀγρεύοντες. καὶ τούτους θύοντες ἐσθίουσι.” See also Viger’s Note, (p. 25.) where much interesting matter, to this effect, is collected together. it. Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 535. B.

<sup>6</sup> This is applied to the Scythians, generally, in the Prep. Evang. (p. 11.) in these words:...“μη δ’ ἀνθρωποβορεῖν Σκυθας οἷα τον και μέχρῃς αὐτῶν ἐλθόντα τὸν χριστοῦ λόγον” Bardesanes affirms that there is also a people in India, who indulge in cannibalism, (ib. p. 278. D.) “καὶ ἐν μιᾷ χωρᾷ τῶν Ἰνδῶν εἰσὶν ἀνθρωποφαγοὶ Ἰνδοὶ.”

<sup>7</sup> This seems to be applied to the Derbices of Persia, (Prep. Evang. ib. p. 11.) and the Massagetæ...“Μασσαγέται καὶ Δέρβικες ἀθλιωτάτους ἠγείσθαι τῶν οἰκείων τοὺς αὐτομάτως τελευτήσαντες, διὸ καὶ φθάσαντες κατέθουον, καὶ εἰστιῶντο τῶν φιλτάτων τοὺς παρακμάσαντας.” This is repeated, in the main, by Theodoret. (Græc. affect. curat. Serm. ix. p. 615.)

<sup>8</sup> This, according to Euseb. (l. c.) and Theodoret, (l. c.) was done by the Tibareni. Theod. “καὶ Τιβαρηνοὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτας κατα κρημνων βαθυτάτων εἰθικότες ὠθεῖν.”

<sup>9</sup> Mention is made of this (Prep. Evang. ib.) in these words, “μηδ’ ἀγχόνῃ τοὺς γεγηρακότας, ὥσπερ ἡ πρότερον, ἐπιβάλλειν.” “Nec senio jam confectis, ut antea, laqueos injiciunt.” Lit. Nor, as formerly, do they cast over the aged with a snare (noose, &c.) A practice, perhaps, not unlike that of the Persian hunters and warriors, who threw a sort of noose,—called the **کمند**, *Camand*,—over the head of the animal they wished to take. The Syriac term used here is, **ܫܪܒܘܟܝܬܗ** *sharbukitho*, which seems to me to be a corruption of the Arabic **شبكة**, or **شبد**, meaning *a net*. Bar Bahlul, I see, makes it i. q. **ܫܪܒܘܟܝܬܗ**, *strangulation of the neck*, and **ܫܒܐ**, *snare*: and the Arab. **لاوثة**: so far, therefore, it is, i. q. the Gr. *ἀγχόνῃ*. I wonder therefore, that Castell should so very imperfectly have explained this word.

<sup>10</sup> So the Hyrcaneans and Bactrians (Prep. Evang. pp. 11, 12, and Theodoret as above.)

to the dogs, while still living; and others, while dying<sup>1</sup>! Others they buried with these (alive-)! while others put the living to death on the funeral pile; those (I say), whom those (now) dead had loved<sup>3</sup>!

82. Thus therefore, had the whole human race been led on to the last stage of brutality, so that he, who was (once) rational, became the most irrational of all. Nor was there any other (being), of those that were on the earth, more vicious than man; who had been (so) led into every vile affection, and had (so) corrupted his mind with every species of wickedness, that he readily forsook even the reflection which belonged to his nature, and did nothing well, either of the things pertaining to the soul, the body, or of those, which were external to him; but, he every where became subject to vice upon vice!—For, the lives of men are divided among the things which are of the soul, of the body, and of those which are external (to both). But, the error of the Demons had (now) so possessed in every form, and had so corrupted, the lives of men, that the things of the soul were at war with them, through the madness of the Demon-worship which had (so) seized upon them, and through their foolishness and blindness as to the truth,—about which (truth) even the family of Philosophers was in a state of agitation. And, as to the things of the body, (they consisted) in the human sacrifices which (prevailed) throughout the whole earth; and again, in the base, lawless, and corrupt practices, which were foreign to nature. The things too, which were external (to both, consisted) in this,

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<sup>1</sup> So the Caspians (Prep. Evang. ib.) and Bactrians (ib. p. 12.) Strabo Geogr. Lib. xi. p. 356. Edit. Casaubon.

<sup>2</sup> This, according to Theodoret, (Græc. affect. curat. p. 615.) was done by the Sythians: “*Σκυθαί τοις τετελευτηκοσι συγκατορυττουσι ζωντας οὖς ἡγάπων ἐκεῖνοι.*” So Ibn Batuta tells us (Travels, p. 220,) that he saw, at the funeral of the Emperor of China, six favourite Mamluks, and four female slaves all buried alive with him! See also Prep. Evang. (ib. p. 156. C.)

<sup>3</sup> So the Indians, as Bardesanes tells us, burned the wives, together with the dead body of the husband, on the funeral pile (Prep. Evang. p. 277. D.), just as it is the practice still in Hindustan. See also Plutarch, Tract. *Εἰς ἀνταρκῆς κ. τ. λ.* Tom. ii. p. mihi 499. See also Origen contra Cels. Lib. v. p. 254. seq. as given by Celsus himself.

that in the cities, localities, and nations, all were, at one time, divided into parties; at another,—when they were brought together,—they contended against each other, by means of the desolations and reductions of cities, in which they mutually laboured<sup>4</sup>. And, the length of the day would be insufficient for me, were I to relate all the things pertaining to this ancient disease, which had (so) seized upon the whole race of man. And, on this account more particularly, was God the Saviour necessary to this our (mortal) life, as to those who had been cast down to the last extremity of evil: nor was there any other cure or aid (for this), except by means of the glorious and divine manifestation (of Christ).

83. What, then, was it right that THE WORD<sup>5</sup>, the Father of rational beings, the Saviour of all, the Guardian, the providential Care, the Shepherd of the rational flock which is on the earth, should, after (the occurrence of) these things, do, in order to raise to great honour the rational and intelligent Essence which is in man, (and) which had (so) fallen into the vast depths of evil? And that he, who had with his own hands (so) dragged upon himself the cause of his ruin, might see (and know Him as) his friend<sup>6</sup>? Would<sup>7</sup> it have been well, that (even) a man should pass over the safety of his friends, and unpityingly neglect them when thus perishing, who had the highest claim to his providential care? No Captain indeed, would ever be termed wise, who should give up his ship with its crew to go down, having by him that which (would secure) the safety of those who sailed with him, but not applying it. Nor was there ever a General so merciless, as to give up, unavenged, the soldiers of his army to their enemies. Nor is there any good Shepherd, who unfeelingly neglects the (single) sheep

<sup>4</sup> Orat. de laudd. Constant. cap. xiii. p. 535. C.

<sup>5</sup> Syr. ܡܢ ܕܘܒܝܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܘܒܝܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ. Where it will be seen, as in other instances, that the notion of *reason*, contained in the Greek λόγος, is implied in the Syriac ܡܢ ܕܘܒܝܢܐ.

<sup>6</sup> Syr. ܫܘܒܐ ܫܘܒܐ ܫܘܒܐ, lit. *may see him, his recognizer, or familiar*.

<sup>7</sup> This argument will also be found Prep. Evang. Lib. iv. C. xvii. p. 165. B. C. D., and again in the Orat. de laudd. Constant. cap. vii. p. 514. C. D.

that has strayed from his flock ; but, he leaves those that are not lost and in a secure place, and undergoes every thing for the discovery of that which has strayed ; and, should it be necessary, he will even engage with the wild beasts<sup>1</sup> (in its defence). The providential care, however, of THE WORD, the Saviour,—of Him who has provided every thing for (His) rational creatures,—was not put forth (merely) for a flock that is irrational. For, it is man (only) of the creatures that are on the earth, who is (thus) beloved of God ; and it is man also, to whom He has, as a Father, given up every kind of irrational animal in subjection. It is to man too, to whom He has assigned the navigation of the seas ; and for whom He has adorned the earth with every sort of plant. To him He has subjected both the (various) kinds of beings that swim in the unseen depths, and of the birds that fly in the heights. It is man moreover, to whom He has granted the faculty of knowledge for receiving every sort of learning. To him likewise, has He made plain the observation of things in the heavens, the (annual) courses of the sun, the (monthly) changes of the moon, and the progress of the stars both planetary and fixed<sup>2</sup>.

84. How then, after (the occurrence) of these things, could it have been becoming, that the fatherly anxiety and providential care which is over all,—which had (so) rightly exerted its care for those other things of the body, and of this sensible world,—should be so crippled as to become inactive, as it respected the healing of the rational Essence vested in man ? It had afforded every sort of provision for man, every sort of remedy, and (means) of health, for the body, growth also, strength, beauty, riches, delights, and the increase of possession for (his) convenience. And, Would He put forth not so much as one effort of care, that they might become acquainted<sup>3</sup> with the things which are

<sup>1</sup> Alluding perhaps to the case of David. 1 Sam. xvii. 34—36.

<sup>2</sup> Not unlike this Porphyr. ad Boeth. Prep. Evang. Lib. xi. cap. xxviii. p. 556. C.

<sup>3</sup> Syr. ܐܘܢܐܢܐܢܐ, which, if it is not to be taken here in the sense of *Ethpahal*, which is certainly unusual,—ought perhaps to be written ܐܘܢܐܢܐܢܐ, in that form: for, it seems to me quite impossible here, to attach the usual sense of *Aphhel* to it. The place does not occur, un-

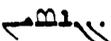
most excellent in them, with their own souls, and the Essence which is intelligent? But thus, it is likely one would rather blame the imbecility (or) carelessness, not of the sheep wandering from the<sup>3</sup> flock, but of the shepherd: and again, not the infirm of soul, or those calamitously circumstanced; but the contempt or imbecility of the physician, if he gave not every sort of medicine for the healing and aid of those, who (so) needed (it). Every necessity would therefore call upon Him, who is the Guardian and Saviour of all, for the healing of his (rational) flock<sup>4</sup>.

85. It is likely therefore, that the compassionate WORD OF GOD would, as a good Shepherd, Saviour, and Guardian, when His rational flock on earth was (thus) implicated in the greatest evils, deign openly to make a Divine manifestation of Himself; since, behold! He had never allowed even a period to pass, in which He did not fully exert His providential care, for the supply of every good thing to those who were in need. At every period therefore, in all ages of the world, He both looked, and engaged Himself, upon the things belonging to the earth; and gave freely in times of necessity, of the things which were (laid up) with Him: and so without upbraiding, evinced He the promptness of His providential care towards all men, that He even afforded instruction to those among mankind who were worthy (of this), by revelations of Angels, and by raising up holy Ministers of God: by Prophecy also, and familiar intercourse, He preached the Godhead of His Father, and the life that was most excellent, to those who were capable of being taught in the mysteries of the worship of God: at that period, too, he gave the instruction which was from Himself to our Fathers, as to those who were still infants, and inexperienced in evil<sup>5</sup>.

86. Because then (men) had, by a perversion which

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fortunately, in the Orat. de laudd. Constant. where the preceding part of the argument does, cap. vii. p. 514. C. seq.: nor does it in the Prep. Evang.

<sup>4</sup> Syr. , an error of the Copyist, for .

<sup>5</sup> To the same effect Clemens. Alexand. Strom. Lib. vii. p. 702. D. seq.

was not good (growing) out of their liberty, and from the will of their minds, set themselves up, and (hence) had fallen from the life that is excellent into (many) evils; it is likely, that the same WORD OF GOD, would again,—as the Physician of souls,—by adequate aids succour those who suffered this malady, and bring back by bitter medicines, those who had not benefited by these His gifts<sup>1</sup>. On these grievous diseases of vice therefore, He took vengeance by pestilences, famines, wars, conflagrations, and inundations (of waters); and thus turned back to Himself, those who stood in need of these things. At one time He purged the entire life of all, by destructions of waters: at another, He punished the wicked by excessive rains in (certain) places, by strokes of the lightning, by burnings, or by withholding the (necessary) rains. And again, in the abundance of His mercy, He made certain by these same deeds, both (his) rebukes and teachings against the errors of Demons. The Temples too, of those who were thought to be Gods, and (their) Fanes, together with the images and Gods themselves, did He desolate by destructive strokes of lightning; and thus He put to shame those follies. Nor was it (this) only, but He taught them to distinguish by their own reason, that these never were Gods, and, that it was not in their power even to help themselves: and also, that they were neither of the household of God the King of all, nor friends of Him, who (thus) waged war against them. For, How could He who is the cause of every good thing, give up to destruction by fire, the Temples which (men) had built to His own honour; unless (indeed) He did this for a reproof of their error? For, if it was His will that the Demons which resided in these should be honoured, Why did He destroy their Temples together with their images? By means of the arrows which were sent from above from God, He drove far away from their eminences those who resided in these (Temples), and fully preached, in this way (and) by these doings, in the hearing of all men, crying out (as it were), Cease ye from the error of Demons, and (from affirming) that there are many

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<sup>1</sup> See our author's Eccl. Hist. Lib. ix. cap. viii.

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lightnings. And it has accordingly been made matter of history, that the Temple of Delphos,—of that Pythian (Apollo) who was (so much) preached<sup>1</sup> of formerly,—underwent upon one occasion (an entire) conflagration; but these, remaining in their error, raised it up a second time; and God the second time destroyed it! They renewed it also a third time; and He again, expelled entirely from its place, not the Temple, but the Demon that resided within its chamber, by his Divine manifestation! so that now, this is no more a house of divination; nor does he, who formerly led the Greeks astray, (any more) practise there.

88. The Temple of Diana too at Ephesus, came to (its) destruction three several times. On one occasion, the Amazons<sup>2</sup> burnt it; on another, Herododus<sup>3</sup> (Herostratus), one of the inhabitants of Ephesus; and lastly, on another, (it was ruined) by God who is over all. So that now, after the manifestation of our Saviour, nothing more

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<sup>1</sup> Syr. ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ, which I take to be much the same with the “ἐξ αἰῶνος βεβημένον,” of Eusebius, Prep. Evang. (p. 134. D.) This (Simson’s Chron. p. 640) happened A. M. 3457; his words are, “A Pisistratidis incensum prodidit *Philochorus* apud Pindari Scholiastem ad Od. 7. Pyth. Non multo post ab Alcæonidis instauratum.”

<sup>2</sup> Syr. ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ. It has been affirmed by some, (Simson. Chron. A. M. 2948,) that the Amazons first built this Temple; others deny this, and state that one Cresus, with Ephesus the son of Cayster, built it: while Strabo makes Chersiphron its first builder. I have met with no account, however, of it having been destroyed by the Amazons.

<sup>3</sup> Syr. ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܝܠܐ, Strabo, however, Lib. xiv. p. 440, tells us, that it was Herostratus, Ἡροστράτος, who, to secure fame to himself, burnt it the second time. See also Valerius Maximus, Lib. viii. cap. xiv. Extern. 5. This was the Temple in which the image that fell down from Jupiter (Acts xix. 35.) was said to be preserved: which image, according to Pliny, was made of ebony by one Canitia. (Lib. xix. cap. iv.) So the authors of the Universal History, and, after them apparently Rees’s Encyclopedia, Art. Diana. But, I can find no such thing in Pliny, nor any statuary of the name of Canitia. The words of Pliny are (Lib. xvi. 79), “De ipso simulacro Deæ ambigitur: ceteri ex ebene esse tradunt. Mucianus ter consul, ex his qui proxime viso scripsere, vitigineum, et nunquam mutatum septies restituto templo.”



the Pantheon<sup>1</sup>,—(all) the Gods being assembled together there, as it should seem,—was again, destroyed by lightning.

92. And again, on one occasion, lightning fell from heaven on that which is called by them the Capitol, and destroyed that house of every Temple<sup>2</sup>.

τουσι Ῥωμαῖοι) κομισθέν ἀπὸ Τροιάς (ὡς λόγος).” “Maximum autem nefas cum in præsens dolorom attulit, tum in futurum pessimo augurio universos conterruit. Nam cum neque imbres ulli neque nubes, tantumque exiguus terræ motus antecessisset, seu nocturni casu fulminis, sive igni aliquo in ipso terrarum motu velut extrito, totum de improvise Pacis templum consumptum incendio est: quod unum scilicet opus cunctorum tota urbe maximum fuit atque pulcherrimum: idem templorum omnium opulentissimum...inter quæ etiam Vestæ templum, sic ut Palladium quoque conspiceretur: quod inprimis colunt atque in arcano habent Romani, Troja (ut perhibent) avectum.” See also Xiphilinus near the end of Commodus. The Temple of Fortune at Rome is said, by Zosimus, to have been burnt in like manner. (Lib. II. Constantinus et Licinius.) The Temple of Vesta was also burnt in the first Punic wars. See Dion. Hallicarn. Lib. II. p. 94. Edit. 1546, where this Palladium is also spoken of. See also Clemens. Alexand. Admon. ad Gentes. p. 30—35. seq. and Pausan. Lib. V.

<sup>1</sup> Syr. 𐤀𐤍𐤏𐤃 𐤍𐤏𐤃, i. e. of every god; which, I suppose, is an imitation of *Pantheon* (Πάνθειον). Xiphilinus tells us in his Epitome of Dion, that in the times of Titus, the Temples of Serapis and Isis; the Septa; the Temple of Neptune; the Baths of Agrippa; the Pantheon; the Diribitorium; the Theatre of Balbus; the Scena of Pompey; the houses of Octavius, with the books; the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, with the adjoining Temples, were all destroyed by fire, which the Historian thinks were Divine, rather than human, occurrences. (Edit. Sylburg. Ed. 1590. p. 327) See also Prep. Evang. Lib. III. cap. II. p. 134. D. seq. It Simsoni de Sibyl. Vaticin. disquis. col. 1712.

- I have been willing here to keep as closely as I could to the Syriac, which has, 𐤀𐤍𐤏𐤃 𐤍𐤏𐤃 𐤍𐤏𐤃 𐤍𐤏𐤃 𐤍𐤏𐤃 𐤍𐤏𐤃. This happened in the times of Domitian, of which Suetonius (Lib. XI. cap. XV.) gives the following account. “Continuis octo mensibus tot fulgura facta nuntiataque sunt, ut exclamaverit (i. e. Domitianus) *Feriat jam quem volet*. Tactum de cælo Capitolium, templumque Flaviæ gentis; item domus Palatina et cubiculum ipsius; atque etiam è basi statuæ triumphalis titulus excussus vi procellæ in monumentum proximum decidit.” &c. We are told in the next chapter, that on consulting a German soothsayer concerning this lightning, he was told that it portended a *change of things*. Which harmonizes well with the general expectations of those times. The soothsayer, however, appears to have lost his life,

93. With all these modes of discipline therefore, has the Providence which is over all, THE WORD OF GOD, put to shame from all time, those who worshipped Demons. Nor was it (this) only, but He also taught them, from ancient times by doctrines worthy of God, that they should worship His Father. He has likewise, cast forth (as seed) among mortal men, the doctrines conducive to life; divine laws, and precepts of righteousness, as herbs (productive) of things that are good, and as medicines for the salvation of reasonable souls. Thus (did He) in ancient times with the Hebrews through Prophets, men who partook of the Divine Spirit. And again, from a long extended antiquity, through other Friends of God<sup>3</sup>: and again afterwards, through those who were vested with the Divinity, did He call those who had been cast off to death, to (the means of) recovery. He also sowed (as it were) in the souls of men, the rudiments of the Divine laws; of various kinds of instructions; of doctrines of every kind; of predictions, and of prophecies of things to come; as also the love of that life (which is devoted) to the worship of God. Hence poured forth as from a fountain, even in every part of the creation, the seed, (and thence) the rational observances (of life): and hence, laws and law-givers were seen among all the nations; and the name of virtue and of philosophy became known among men. (Now) came into being the love of things most excellent; and, the desire to discover the truth was in such active operation with the many, that the error of their forefathers came into utter contempt, and, with the intelligent, those things which belonged to the worship and love of God, into repute. The truth too had been wanting; and great had been the differences respecting this with the many, as had the contentions and divisions of those, who disputed about doctrines. And thus did these things shew, that the Providence (exerted) over mankind, was from

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on account of this answer. Comp. Tacit. Hist. Lib. iv. 54, and Simson, Chron. Cathol. pars. vii. p. 1674. The Capitol was also burnt in the year before Christ, 80, together with the Chapel and Sybilline books. Simson, Chron. A. M. 3923.

<sup>3</sup> In like manner in the Orat. de laudd. Constant. cap. xiii. p. 535. C.

all time great, (and) evincing the care for every man, which was both suitable and sufficient.

94. Because then, great would be the change for the better in every one, upon human life's becoming tranquillized, and the common conduct (of all) being changed from its former wildness to something approaching to benignity; it is likely, that the common Saviour of all, the compassionate WORD OF GOD, would more particularly, and the more readily, make his Divine manifestation at a time that would be (most) suitable<sup>1</sup>. He accordingly came in by the mission of himself, and shewed forth to men,—who could by no other means arrive at the knowledge of the truth, by the instrumentality of a human vessel,—the God of truth. The God of truth did then, through the divine operations and astonishing miracles which were evident to all, shew forth the doctrine of heavenly teaching which respected His Kingdom; in order that by these, He might henceforth,—even as He had formerly afforded aid by means of the things already mentioned,—instruct the whole human race in the doctrine which is heavenly. It was impossible indeed, in ancient times, to make those who had been driven to the last stage of vice, pure by words (only), inviting (them) to the perfect knowledge of God, and to the better life of purity and of righteousness. On this account, just as Physicians prescribe their remedies to those who are sick and debilitated by pains and sufferings, not the healthy food proper for the robust, but things that give uneasiness and pain; and, should it be

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<sup>1</sup> To the same effect Origen contra Cels. Lib. II. p. 79. ..“ἀνέτειλε γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ δικαιοσύνη, καὶ πλῆθος εἰρήνης γέγονεν, ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ, εὐτρεπίζοντος (τοῦ Θεοῦ) τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔθνη, ἵν' ὑπὸ ἓνα γένηται τῶν Ῥωμαίων Βασιλέα· καὶ μὴ, διὰ τὸ προφάσει τῶν πολλῶν βασιλειῶν ἄμικτον τῶν ἐθνῶν πρὸς ἄλληλα, χαλεπώτερων γένηται τοῖς ἀποστόλοις τοῦ Ἰησοῦ τὸ ποιῆσαι ὅπερ προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς,” κ.τ.λ. “Exorta est enim in diebus ejus justitia, et multitudo pacis facta est mox ex quo natus est, præparante Deo gentes ad ejus doctrinam, ut omnes parent uni Romanorum regi, neque, propter multitudinem regnorum interruptis gentium commerciis, difficilior fieret Jesu Apostolis illud mandatum ipsius,” &c.

necessary, do not excuse themselves from applying cauteries and bitter draughts, to coerce the disease:—not the aliments proper for the healthy, but those suitable to the sick: but, when they have become convalescent, they will henceforth allow them to partake of wholesome and strengthening food:—

95. So likewise the common Saviour of all, as the Shepherd and Physician of His rational flocks on earth, taught those—who had previous to His last divine manifestation entered into the many follies of a plurality of Gods, and had been maddened by the evils and fierceness attending (this) corruption of mind,—by bitter punishments, by pestilences, famines, and the continuance of wars against each other. And again, by excessive rains, by the withholding of the rains, and by calamitous strokes of lightning, did He annihilate these instances of obstinacy: besides, He afforded opportunity to the worshippers of the Demons to see, by the vengeance taken in the strokes of lightning sent upon the Idols, the reproach due to the error of a plurality of Gods.

96. He again as a good Father, thus also afforded instruction to the foolish; for He imparted to them ungrudgingly, the gifts which were from Himself, in the provision of every good and rich thing: rains in their seasons; the production of fruits; the changes of the seasons; and the carrying forward of animal life. The rational means also of all kinds of art; the seeds of these, and the (due) consideration of them, He cast forth into the souls of men. Again also He sowed (as it were), by means of the Prophets who are preached of among the Hebrews, the rudiments of the Divine precepts; the instruction pertaining to the fear of God; the entrance, the stages, and principal things, attending the Divine laws; such (I say) as were suitable to the men of those times. He again from his providential care, (and) by means of many others, also gave the aid which was convenient for men as then (existing).

97. Because therefore, the life of man had henceforward undergone a change, by means of these things, to a state of peacefulness and rest, and was prepared to receive the perfect doctrine relating to God; well again, did

the common Saviour of all, the only (begotten) WORD OF GOD, the King of all, shew forth at a time that was suitable, and by these same operations, the Divine manifestation of Himself. But, as these things have been largely set forth already, it is (now) time we should proceed to those that (should) follow them.

*The End of the Second Book of (Eusebius) of  
Cæsarea.*

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the people<sup>1</sup>. Nor again, existed those things, on account of which wars, and the reduction of cities, had been set on foot in every city and place: on the contrary, one God was preached to all men: the one empire too of the Romans had extended itself over all: and the peaceless and uncompromising enmity, which had so long been the portion of the nations, came to an entire end. And, as the knowledge of the one God, and of one just and righteous conduct resulting therefrom, was, by the teaching of our Saviour, delivered to all men; so also one king, at one and the same time, was established over the whole Roman empire, and a profound peace prevailed in every thing. At once too, and at one period, as it were at the intimation of the one God, two singular advantages sprung up among mankind; the Instruction that was in righteousness, and the Empire of the Romans. For formerly, this error of the Demons had grievously enslaved the nations: and, as the whole had been divided into many (parts), some taking Syria by way of portion; others bearing rule in Asia; others, in Macedonia; others cutting up and seizing upon Egypt; others, in like manner, upon the country of Arabia: the race of the Jews again, had possession of Palestine<sup>2</sup>. And, in every village, city, and place, they were, as from madness (and) like marauders and demoniacs in reality, careful (only) about warfare and contention one against another;—of which enough has already been said.

2. But (now), two great Powers sprung fully up, as (it were) out of one stream; and they gave peace to all, and brought all together to a state of friendship: (namely) the Roman Empire, which, from that time, appeared (as) one kingdom; and, the Power of the Saviour of all, whose

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<sup>1</sup> Syr. ܐܘܡܝܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ. Castell and Michaelis seem to have had no very distinct notion of the sense of the latter word here. Our Author constantly uses it in the sense of *people* or *inhabitant*, generally. See Book II. par. 65, near the end.

<sup>2</sup> Alluding to what had been said above, about the successors of Alexander, Book II. sect. 77. Matter nearly allied to that in this paragraph, will be found in the Prep. Evang. Lib. v. cap. i. p. 178. seq. also, in the Demonstratio Evangelica, Lib. III. near the end, and above, Book II. sect. 66.

aid was at once extended to, and established with, every one. For, the divine superiority of our Saviour swept away the authority of the many Demons, and many Gods; so that the one kingdom of God was preached to all men Greeks and Barbarians, and to those who (resided) in the extremities of the earth. The Roman Empire too,—since those had been previously uprooted who had been the cause of the rule of many—soon subjugated all (others), and quickly brought together into one state of accord and agreement, the whole race of (man). And, behold! it henceforth brought together such a multitude of nations, as soon to take possession (of all), even to the extremities of the earth; the teaching<sup>3</sup> of our Saviour having, by the divine power, already prepared all parties, and established (all) in a state of equanimity. And this is indeed a great miracle to those, who set their minds on the love of truth, and are unwilling to be envious against that which is good. For at once, was the error of evil Demons put out of sight; and, at the same time, did the enmity and contention of the nations, which had always existed, lose its power: and again, at the same time, was the one God and the one knowledge of Him, preached to all men through the teaching of our Saviour: at the same time too, was the empire of the Romans<sup>4</sup> established among men; and, at once, was the (state of) the whole race of man changed to (that) of peace; and all, professing a common brotherhood, betook themselves to the instructing of their own nature. Forthwith too, they became born, as it were, of one (common) Father, and as the children of the one God; of one Mother too, righteousness and truth; and so received they one another with the salutation of peace, that henceforward the whole creation was nothing less than as one household, and as a race governed by one law. It was (now) practicable too, that any desiring to send, for the purposes of merchandise, and to proceed, whithersoever he pleased, to do this with the greatest facility. Those of the West could come without

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<sup>3</sup> Alluding to the judgments, &c. spoken of above. Book II. par. 86.

<sup>4</sup> Prep. Evang. Lib. v. cap. i. p. 178. D.

danger<sup>1</sup> to the East: and again, those who were here (in the East) could proceed thither as to the house of their own fathers, according to the words of ancient prophecy, and of many other burdens of the Prophets, which we have not now leisure to mention, excepting these respecting our Saviour, the WORD OF GOD, which proclaimed thus: “*He shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the rivers to the extremities of the earth*”<sup>2</sup>:” and again, “*In his days shall righteousness spring forth, and abundance of peace*”<sup>3</sup>:” and again, “*They shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into reaping hooks*”<sup>4</sup>, and *nation shall not lift up the sword against nation; nor shall they learn war*”<sup>5</sup>.”

3. These things were foretold in the language of the Hebrews, (and) have been published a very long time ago: they are now in our times witnessed in their operation, confirming the testimonies of those ancient declarations. If then, thou desire other proofs of the excellency of the truth, (shewing) that it is not of mortal nature, but is the word of God in truth; and (that) the “*power of God*,” the Saviour, has been revealed in the world, not by words (only), but by deeds; accept thou of them.

<sup>1</sup> Syr. ܩܘܪܕܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ, lit. *without storm, or tempest*, metaphorically, as the context manifestly requires.

<sup>2</sup> Syr. ܩܘܪܕܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܐ. The former of these words is not to be found in the Dictionaries: but, as the root is ܩܘܪܕܢܐ, I have had no hesitation in translating it, as equivalent to the Hebrew, ܩܘܪܕܢܐ, and as signifying “burdens.”

<sup>3</sup> Ps. LXXiii. 8, according to the Peschito.

<sup>4</sup> Ib. ver. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Both these places are cited by Origen, Philocalia, cap. i. p. 4. Edit. Spencer.

<sup>6</sup> Is. ii. 4. according to the Peschito, except that for ܩܘܪܕܢܐ, we have here ܩܘܪܕܢܐ, which means much the same thing: and ܩܘܪܕܢܐ is omitted. A large number of predictions to this effect will be found collected in the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. III. capp. i. ii.—I will remark here, that, from the manner in which sentiments, similar to those occurring in this work, are given elsewhere by our author, this was probably his first production.

<sup>7</sup> So Lactantius, who was contemporary with our author: “Atqui impleta esse implerique quotidie illorum” (Prophetarum sc.) “vaticinia videmus.” De falsa religione, Lib. i. cap. iv.

Open the eyes of thy understanding, unbar the doors of thy mind; and let thy soul be wholly collected within thee. Consider and ask thyself, as if thou wert interrogated by another, and thus investigate the nature of the things (to be brought before thee).

4. Who, of those that ever existed, is the mortal man, King, Philosopher, Lawgiver, or Prophet, whether Greek or Barbarian, who bore all this pre-eminence,—not after his death, but while he was still alive, and drew breath;—and could effect so much, that he should be preached throughout the whole earth? and, that his name should fill the hearing, and tongues of every people upon the face of the whole earth? But this, no man has done excepting our Saviour alone, who said to his disciples by word, and fulfilled it by deed: “*Go and teach all nations*”<sup>8</sup>. He said (also) to them,—what He had foretold and previously revealed,—that *it was necessary His Gospel should be preached throughout the whole creation, for a testimony to all nations*<sup>9</sup>. And, with the word, He brought the deed also to pass: for, immediately,—and not at a great distance of time,—the whole creation was filled with His words!

5. Now, What can he have to say on this matter, who dares to oppose the truth; since the testimony which is by means of the sight, is better than that which is by any sort of words? But, if thou give up this first (sort of proof), betake (thyself) to the latter: and now consider with thyself,—

6. What mortal nature has ever appeared, which appointed like Him, by word only and not in writing, laws that were just and pure, and sent these same forth by the hands of His disciples, from one extremity of the creation to another? and, Who so opened out His doctrines throughout the whole earth, that immediately and day by day, the instructions which it was becoming should be delivered by Him, were sufficiently preached in the hearing of all men, Barbarians at once, and Greeks? But, if thou seek, thou shalt find no other: for this is a work, resulting from the power of the Saviour of us all, alone.—Nor will this per-

<sup>8</sup> Matt. xxviii. 19.

<sup>9</sup> Ib. xxiv. 14.



own efforts, so made known his undertaking, that by the love of God, he closed rather the mouths than the doors of all; and proclaimed God who is over all? He commanded moreover, that all nations should truly acknowledge Him alone? And, because he willed that which was acceptable to God, He deigned to give His aid and assistance to him, who was his own ambassador? The doctrines therefore, accompanying this preaching, were delivered; they were also received into the hearing of all men, and they were by deeds confirmed!—How they were, see thou, and consider;—

11. What other person ever arose (as the sun) with his rational light to the souls of men, and so prepared them to laugh at the error of the Demons of their forefathers, that they no more attached the divine name to wood, stone, and matter that is inanimate?

12. What other, excepting our Saviour, persuaded the Egyptians,—more attached as they were to the fear of Demons than any other people, and from whom came the error of a multiplicity of Gods to the Greeks,—that henceforth they should be no more (so) infatuated, and no more give that venerable name to beasts, reptiles, noxious and irrational animals; but should acknowledge that one God alone who is above all, and contend for his righteousness in every sort of death?

13. And Who invisibly, and by the powerful means and force of his doctrine which was every where preached, drove out as evil beasts, from among his own human flock, that injurious and destructive family of Demons, which from ancient time had ruled the whole race of man; and, by means of the exciting power of Idols, had put forth innumerable errors among them, so that these Demons should no more give out their divinations at the springs and fountains? Nor again, should any earthly spirits<sup>3</sup>, leading the world astray, implicate mankind in error? The fountain therefore, that was in Castalia became silent, as

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<sup>3</sup> In the Prep. Evang. Lib. v. ii. p. 181. D. he terms these, “οἱ περίγειοι δαίμονες, οἳ τε ἀμφὶ τὸν ἀέρα, κοσμοκράτορες, καὶ τὰ πνευματικά τῆς ποιηρίας.” See seq.



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announcements? and, on which account He has appointed, throughout the whole creation of man, altars without fire, services worthy of God, the setting apart of Churches, and, that intellectual and rational sacrifices should, by means of rites becoming the Deity, be put forth to that one God alone, who is the King of all nations? .

16. Who moreover, tacitly, and by means of His invisible power, has abolished those sacrifices which were completed with blood, impurity, smoke, and fire?—those abominable shrines also for the slaughter of men; and so provided, that human sacrifices should no more be offered, and these things be no more done?—that the writings of the Greeks also should attest, that it was not from ancient times, but (only) after the divine teaching of our Saviour, in the times of Hadrian<sup>1</sup>, that human sacrifices ceased throughout the whole earth?

17. Since then, all these are clear proofs confirming the divine power of the Saviour of us all, Who is he whose soul (partakes) so much of iron, as not to give his testimony to the truth? and to confess His divine and living (active) power? For it is of the living, and not of the dead, that these deeds are. For the visual perception of something distant is, they say, (the effect) of some thing (really) visible.

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<sup>1</sup> Syr. **ܘܘܠܝܫܝܐ**. This is also found in the Prep. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. xvii. p. 164. C.—“*ου προτερον τε παυλαν των τοσουτων γενεσθαι τῷ βίῳ κακῶν, ἢ τὴν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν καταλάμψαι διδασκαλίαν; ὅτι δὴ μέχρι τῶν Ἀδριανοῦ χρόνων διαμεῖναι ταῦτα· λελύσθαι δ' ἐξ ἐκείνου παρέστησεν ὁ τῆς ἱστορίας λόγος.*” κ.τ.λ. See also ib. Lib. v. cap. i. p. 179. C. D.—Ib. Porphyry is (p. 181.) cited, as bearing witness to this fact, thus: “*Νυνι δε θαυμάζουσιν, εἰ τοσοῦτων ετων κατειληφε την πολιν ἡ νοσος, Ἀσκληπιου μεν επιδημιας και τῶν ἀλλῶν θεῶν μηκέτ' οὔσης. Ἰησοῦ γὰρ τιμωμένου, οὐδεμίας τις θεῶν δημοσίας ὠφελείας ἤσθητο.*” Ib. p. 156. B, as taken from Porphyry's Second Book on Abstinence, cited from Pallas on the Mysteries of Mithra. The words of Pallas however, are, “*τὰς ἀνθρωποθυσίας σχεδὸν τὰς παρὰ πᾶσι... ἐφ' Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος.*” Whence Valesius argues, (notes to Laudd. Const. p. 258. D.) that Eusebius has rather overstated the matter; assuming that this had *every where* been done, when, at that very time human sacrifices were offered up at Rome.



view of the living (effective) works of the living God. For the living works of God are life indeed. Learn (then), what those things are about which thou enquirest, and Him (at the same time), who lives in His works.

20. Some<sup>1</sup> of the contenders with God did, but a little while ago, rebelliously, forcibly, and with a mighty hand, so rase to the foundation and overthrow His houses of prayer, that the churches disappeared: by every means too, they made war with Him who is invisible to the eyes, attacking and reproaching (Him) with innumerable injurious expressions<sup>2</sup>. But He, while unseen, secretly avenged Himself of them. And they again (felt this), not by one intimation from God (only). They (I say) who, but a short time before, were delighting themselves and happy;—they who were worshipped by all men, as if they had been Gods, and who, during the revolutions of many years, gloriously administered the affairs of their rule: for before they made war with Him, they had the most perfect peace and friendship (with all); but when they became changed, and dared to contend with God, and arranged their Deities before them in battle array against Him who is our (God), in order that (these) might be their strength<sup>3</sup>;—(then), forthwith—in one moment—and at the intimation of God, and through the power of Him with whom they had contended, did all they who had been thus daring, suffer punishment<sup>4</sup>, so that they gave in to Him on whom they had made war, turned their backs (in flight), and confessed His Godhead! They allowed also, and persuaded, that (men) should boldly do the reverse of those things which were from ancient time<sup>5</sup>. He therefore quickly

<sup>1</sup> Ib. B.

<sup>2</sup> Syr. ܡܫܘܒܝ ܕܠܘܡܝܘܬܝܢ ܕܠܘܡܝܘܬܝܢ ܕܠܘܡܝܘܬܝܢ ܕܠܘܡܝܘܬܝܢ ܕܠܘܡܝܘܬܝܢ.

<sup>3</sup> Syr. ܕܝܢܝܘܬܝܢ: which does not occur in Dictionaries; but, as the root is ܕܢܘܬܝܢ, there can be little doubt as to its meaning. Gr. προμάχους καὶ προασκιστάς.

<sup>4</sup> Syr. ܕܘܫܝܘܬܝܢ ܕܘܫܝܘܬܝܢ ܕܘܫܝܘܬܝܢ ܕܘܫܝܘܬܝܢ ܕܘܫܝܘܬܝܢ. The idiom is rather Latin than Syriac: i. e. "pœnas dederunt" The Gr. has, δίκας ὑπέιχον.

<sup>5</sup> We have nothing here corresponding to the Gr. ολοσχερῶς εσπευδόν.



when enjoying rest, so that any one should imagine that it was of the friendship of men<sup>1</sup>; but when driven forth by the stroke of God.

21. He<sup>2</sup> then, even after all these storms of persecution, did, by means of sharp calamities and His divine teaching, so enlighten and set up throughout the whole creation, men <sup>3</sup>zealous of the life of wisdom, multitudes both of men and of ministering women<sup>4</sup>, and of congregations of virgins, that they (all) were (thus) established throughout the whole of their lives in perfect holiness.

22. Who moreover persuaded women, multitudes of children, and of men, voluntarily to suffer the privation of food and of wine for many days? to sleep on the earth? to have recourse to a hard and robust discipline, coupled with chastity? and made them exchange the food of the body, for those spiritual and rational provisions of the soul,—the one for the other,—which are obtained by the divine reading?

23. And, Who taught men, barbarian and rustic, as well as women, children, and innumerable multitudes of heathen slaves<sup>5</sup>, to despise death? to be persuaded that their souls were immortal? that the eye of justice<sup>6</sup> was open, viewing the deeds of all men, just and unjust? and to hope for the judgment of God?—That it was, on account of these things, their duty to be careful as to the life of righteousness and temperance? And, that if they were

<sup>1</sup> Our text here does not favour the conjecture of Valesius. (Notes, p. 259.)

<sup>2</sup> This section commences in the Greek with *τίς*. Instead of *οσ*, therefore, we ought probably to have *οσ*.

<sup>3</sup> Syr. *ܘܡܢܘܢܝܘܬܝܗܘܢ*, which occurs not in the Dictionaries. The Gr. has *ζηλωτάς*. The root, therefore is *ܡܢܘܢ*.

<sup>4</sup> So also the emendation of Valesius, *ib.* B.

<sup>5</sup> Syr. *ܘܡܢܘܢܝܘܬܝܗܘܢ*. Gr. *πλήθη τε μυρία μυρίων ἔθνων*. Orat. de laud. Constant. p. 546. B.

<sup>6</sup> Gr. *καὶ δίκην ὀφθαλμῶν ὑπάρχειν ἔφορον*. The Syr. should be read, *ܘܡܢܘܢܝܘܬܝܗܘܢ*, not, *ܘܡܢܘܢܝܘܬܝܗܘܢ*. *The eye of justice*. Laudd. Const. p. 546. and Valesius, notes, p. 259, proposes *δίκης ὀφθαλμων*, which our Syriac countenances.

not so, they could not otherwise be brought under that yoke of righteousness, which hitherto had been brought into operation by Him alone whom we call God?

24. But, let us dismiss these things, and let us otherwise approach him whose mind is (as) the rock; and let us interrogate him thus, with the questions (growing) out of these things (following):—O bring thou forth the word of reason, not from a heart implicated in error<sup>7</sup>, but advancing (this) as the fruit of the intelligent and rational soul; and, having meditated much, say between thyself and thy soul,—

25. What other, of those preached of from ancient times, ever did like Him who is called God by us, become known, established, and declared, by the enouncements from above of the Prophets many ages ago, among those ancient friends of God, the Hebrew family?—those (I say), who also previously delivered in writing, in the divine scriptures, the place of His manifestation, the time of His advent, the manner of His life, His power, His words, and His deeds?

26. Or, Who so suddenly<sup>8</sup> appeared as an executor of vengeance against those who dared to oppose Him, that, upon the Jews acting (thus) impiously, He forthwith dealt out punishment by means of His unseen power on their whole nation? and overthrew to the foundations, both their place and rule?—For He at once levelled to the ground, both their Temple, and their sacred (things)!

27. And Who, like this our Saviour, has clearly fore-told the things that respected the impious (Jews), and respecting the Church which was established by Himself throughout the whole creation, and in the very things themselves? and has shewn their confirmation in their effects?—who said of the impious (Jews), “*Behold, your house is left desolate*<sup>9</sup>; *nor shall stone remain upon*

<sup>7</sup> Syr. ܐܘܪܘܚܐ, which occurs in no Dictionary; but, as the root ܐܘܪܘܚܐ does, its sense is obvious. The Greek however, has ἡλιθίου. Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 546. D.

<sup>8</sup> Gr. αὐτῷ ταχύς. Valesius proposes οὕτω ταχύς, which our Syr. ܐܘܪܘܚܐ ܐܘܪܘܚܐ, supports. Ib. p. 547. A.

<sup>9</sup> Matt. xxiii. 38: Luke xiii. 35, reading ܐܘܪܘܚܐ, instead of ܐܘܪܘܚܐ of the Peschito.



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only (begotten) WORD OF GOD who is above all. But, Why do I say “of men?” when behold! no such nature as His has appeared upon earth, even of those who have been named Gods by all nations? If (not so), let him who wishes shew (this): let every existing Philosopher too come forward and tell us, What God or Hero has at any period, or ever, been heard of, who delivered the doctrine of eternal life, and of the kingdom of heaven, —a thing not of recent occurrence,—to mankind, as this our Saviour (has done)? who has caused innumerable multitudes, throughout the whole creation, to be instructed in His own doctrines of wisdom? and has persuaded them to follow after the life which is heavenly, and to despise that which is of time (only); and to hope for the heavenly mansions, which are kept for the souls that love God?

34. What <sup>1</sup> God or Hero <sup>2</sup> is it, that has ever so fully arisen (like the sun) and given light from the East even to the West by the bright rays of his doctrine, that, immediately and with the swiftness as it were of the course of the Sun, all the nations of the earth (thence) rendered to the one God, one and the same service?

35. What <sup>3</sup> God or Hero is it, who ever contended with all the gods and heroes both of the Greeks and Barbarians, and laid down a law, that not one of them should be thought a God? and, having so legislated, persuaded (men of this)? and who, when they all afterwards waged war against Him, being one and the same, overthrew every power opposed to Him; and shewed that He was superior to all, both gods and heroes, that ever existed, so as to be called throughout the whole creation of man, and by all people, the ONLY (begotten) WORD OF GOD?

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<sup>1</sup> Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 548. C.

<sup>2</sup> The Greek has, “*ἡ καὶ ἥρως ἀνθρώπος,*” which the Latin translator gives, “sive heros, sive homo.” The Syriac is more correct, . Christopherson, according to Valesius, (notes, p. 260,) expunged the latter word, “non male:” but suggests, that *ἡ καὶ ἀνθρώπος*, “vel certe,” *μητιγέ ἀνθρώπος*, might have been the true reading. According to the Syriac, Christopherson was right: and, in this case, Valesius wrong.

<sup>3</sup> Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. C.

36. What God or Hero was it, who ever delivered to all nations dwelling on the great element of the whole earth,—to those on the land, and on the sea<sup>4</sup>,—that they should make a feast in holiness, both of the body and the soul, on the day of every week which is called among the Greeks the Sun's day<sup>5</sup>? And, that they should assemble themselves together, not that their bodies should hear—but their souls—that it was by means of the divine teaching, they should live?

37. What<sup>6</sup> God or Hero was it who, when they so made war with him, set up, as our (Saviour)<sup>7</sup> has done, such a mark of victory in opposition to his enemies? For they ceased not to contend both with His doctrine, and His people, from first to last<sup>8</sup>: while He, being invisible, secretly overthrew them, and advanced His own, together

<sup>4</sup> So the Greek. (Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 548. D.) τοῖς κατὰ θάλατταν. Lat. "sive in insulis."

<sup>5</sup> Gr. τὴν κυριακὴν χρηματίζουσιν ἡμέραν. Lat. "Dominicum diem." The Syriac is more literal. Ib. "καὶ αὐτὰ σώματα πιαίνειν." Valesius, "Non dubito quin Eusebius scripserit, καὶ οὐ τὰ σώματα πιαίνειν." The Syriac differs here, in adding |ⲗⲟⲗⲏⲟⲩ, "in holiness" In other respects the conjecture of Valesius is confirmed by it. On the general observance of the seventh day (or Sunday). See also the Prep. Evang. Lib. XIII. cap. xii. p. 667, from Aristobulus; and ib. cap. xiii. p. 677, from Clemens Alexandrinus. See also my Sermon on the Sabbath, Edit. 2. London, 1834, Duncan. Whence it should seem, that this must have been the Patriarchal, and consequently the day of the primæval, sabbath. (Gen. ii. 2, 3.) The sabbath of the Jews was a totally different thing. That was to recur *yearly*, after the day of preparation: i. e. on the 15th day of the month Abib. (Comp. Exod. xii. 6. with Mark xv. 42.) It could not have recurred, therefore *every seventh day*: that was impossible. The Jews do however, observe every seventh day. They have therefore, lost the sabbath of Moses entirely. While the Christians actually keep the primitive sabbath, with the additional sanctions of the Resurrection of our Lord, and of the gift of the Spirit at Pentecost. See also my Heb. Lexicon, under שְׁבִיעִית.

<sup>6</sup> Orat. de laudd. Const. ib. D.

<sup>7</sup> Gr. "σωτήρ" The Syr. has omitted the equivalent, ⲗⲟⲩⲁ, which however I have deemed it right to introduce; as the sense requires it.

<sup>8</sup> So the Gr. ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ εἰς τέλος, although the Latin does not express this.



WORD OF GOD, the King of all; and that to Him, and through Him who is the Cause of every good thing, they should so render the praises that are due, and the blessings and thanksgivings which are right, that henceforth the righteous praises and thanksgivings, which are suitable to the companies of the Angels that are in heaven, should also be put up, day and night, by the inhabitants of this element of earth!

39. These acts, therefore,—pertaining to salvation, and advantageous to the world, and to the Divine Manifestation of THE WORD OF GOD among men, as well as innumerable others like them, on account of which he came into the world of men<sup>5</sup>—He performed not in His usual manner, that is, incorporeally; for, He had acted throughout the whole world secretly, and, by these his works, shewed both to them who are in the heavens, and to them who are on the earth, His innumerable operations. But recently, (he has done this) in a manner foreign to His own custom. For He has, by means of a mortal vessel,—not unlike the king, who (acts) through an Interpreter,—openly declared His edicts and methods of government among men; in order that He might evince His providential care for mortals, by that which was like to themselves, (and) that they might find life. But, as it has been seen that not one, but many were the causes, why the Saviour of all made His Divine manifestation among men; it becomes necessary, that we should also say in a few words, in their order, why He availed himself of this human vessel, and came for the purpose of ruling among men. How then, could the Divine, concealed, invisible, and untangible, Essence,—that unembodied and incorporeal mind, THE WORD OF GOD,—otherwise exhibit himself to men immersed in the depths of evils, and the corporeal substances (of nature), seeking God upon earth, but otherwise not finding Him;—or, being unwilling to search after the Maker and Creator of the whole creation<sup>6</sup>,—if not by means of (some) human compound, and in some form known to ourselves, and, as it were by an Inter-

<sup>5</sup> Orat. de laudd. Constant. p. 536. A. gives also the following matter.

<sup>6</sup> Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. B.

preter? For otherwise, How could the eyes of the body look upon the incorporeal nature of God? And, How could mortal nature discover Him who is concealed, (and) invisible, whom they knew not from the multitude of His works? On this account therefore, He required a mortal vessel, a help which would comport with the conversation (had) among men; because, this would be agreeable to them; for they say, “Every thing loves its like<sup>1</sup>.” For, just as some great king might stand much in need of an Interpreter, who could enounce his words to the inhabitants of both countries and cities, whose understanding (of languages) was diverse; so also did THE WORD OF GOD,—who was about to be for the healing of souls,—that He should exhibit himself in a body, and upon the earth. He would want a Mediator, not unlike an Interpreter, and a bodily compound. And this would be some human instrument, by means of which He could make known to men, what those concealed (properties) of the Godhead were. Nor was it (this) alone, but also that He, the compassionate WORD OF GOD, should exhibit Himself to those who delighted in the sense of things seen, and were seeking God by means of inanimate Images, and carved Idols; and imagining, through (mere) material bodies, that there was a God; but, from the infirmity and deficiency of their minds were giving to men, mortal in their nature, the name of Gods. On this account, He prepared for himself a Temple more holy than all; a bodily vessel, and sensible habitation, for the rational Power; an Image pure, and in every thing excellent, and more honourable than the whole of inanimated images<sup>2</sup>. For that which was of inanimate

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<sup>1</sup> This adage, “ὁμοίον ὁμοίῳ φίλον,” will be found in the, “Adagiorum D. Erasmi... Epitome. Amst. 1649. p. 480. Syr. دلا عجمو دلا عجمو. The Persians have a very neatly expressed adage to this effect, in these words;

هم جنس با هم جنس کند پرواز کبوتر با کبوتر باز با باز  
Which may thus be paraphrased,—

Kind to his kind with pleasure hies,  
And hawk with hawk, pigeon with pigeon flies.

<sup>2</sup> Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 536. C.

matter, and in the form of an Image of brass, iron, gold, ivory, stone, or wood, was fabricated by the hands of artificers of (mere) matter, altogether for the residence of Demons, and to administer to the error of fools. But the Divine Image, variously adorned by the wisdom of the Divine Power, partook of life and of the Essence which is intelligent: the Image, filled with every excellence,—the Divine Image, the habitation of THE WORD OF GOD, and the holy temple of the holy God,—was prepared by the power of the Holy Ghost, in order that He, who resided therein, might become known among mortal men by means of one who was their equal, as it were by an Interpreter; but who should not fall after the manner of their passions, nor be bound in the body, as the manner is with the soul of man: nor yet, when appearing small (in reputation), should undergo any change on that account as to his Godhead. For<sup>3</sup>, as the rays of the sun's light suffer nothing from their filling every thing, nor when they permeate the unclean bodies of mortals; so, in a far higher degree, the Power which is incorporeal, THE WORD OF GOD, suffers nothing in its own Essence, neither is it mutilated, nor is it ever diminished, when, incorporeal as it is, it permeates that which is corporeal. In the same manner therefore, the Saviour of all presented himself to every man (as) the helper and Saviour, by means of the human vessel which He put forth, just as the musician<sup>4</sup> (does), who is willing to shew his skill by means of his lyre. History too among the Greeks teaches (us), that Orpheus moved by his song every sort of animal, and pacified their angry feelings by means of a hollow instrument, the strings of which he struck. This is moreover sung in the assemblies of the Greeks; and it is believed, that an inanimate lyre soothed both the animals and trees, and so changed even the oaks that they became imitators of music. This (personage)

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<sup>3</sup> This argument is given also in the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. xiii. p. 170. A. and ib. Lib. vii. cap. i. p. 314. C. D. as well as in the Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 536. D.

<sup>4</sup> Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 537. A. it. Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. xiii. p. 168. D.

therefore, filled with all wisdom and all prudence, THE WORD OF GOD, put forth every sort of healing for the souls of men which had been reduced to all kinds of evil. He took into His hands the instrument of the musician, the work of His own wisdom: this He struck with His hand, (producing) songs and sweet strains to rational man<sup>1</sup>, not to animals that are irrational; and healed<sup>2</sup>, by the medicines of His heavenly teaching, every kind of the fierce, both of the Greeks and Barbarians, as well as the rude and beastlike passions of the soul; and did, as a skilful physician, shew by the aid<sup>3</sup> of one of their equals, and who was like to themselves,—to the souls which were implicated in disease, and seeking God among bodies and substances which were elemental,—God in man! Nor again, was He less careful as to the body, than He was as to the soul. For He provided, that the things which He did by means of the Body<sup>4</sup>, should be apparent to men's bodily eyes; (that is) that they should see astonishing miracles, signs, and (other) divine powers. And again, He preached to the hearing of the body, these doctrines through a bodily tongue<sup>5</sup>. All these things therefore, He delivered by means of the Body which he bore,—as it were by an Interpreter,—to those who otherwise could not,—except only in this way,—be made sensible of His Godhead. These<sup>6</sup> things too, were (thus) administered by the will of His Father: He still remaining with His Father, as He was before, immaterial, incorporeal, (and) unchanged as to His (eternal) Essence. Nor did he suffer corruption from His

<sup>1</sup> Syr. read  $\text{ܐܢܫܝܢ} ; \text{ܕܒܢܝܢ}$ , errat.

<sup>2</sup> Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. B.

<sup>3</sup> Syr.  $\text{ܕܡܫܝܚܐ} ; \text{ܕܡܫܝܚܐ} ; \text{ܕܡܫܝܚܐ}$ . Both the sense and the construction require that the reading should be,  $\text{ܕܡܫܝܚܐ} ; \text{ܕܡܫܝܚܐ} ; \text{ܕܡܫܝܚܐ}$ , which the construction  $\text{ܕܡܫܝܚܐ} ; \text{ܕܡܫܝܚܐ}$ , seems to me abundantly to confirm. The Greek Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 537. B. does not verbally agree with our text.

<sup>4</sup> Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. it.

<sup>5</sup> Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. xiii. p. 169. A.

<sup>6</sup> Orat. de laudd. Const. ib. C. it. Demonstr. Evang. ib. B. it. ib. cap. xiv. p. 170. D. it. ib. p. 165. B.

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But<sup>1</sup> He,—who is immaterial and incorporeal, THE WORD OF GOD, who is both the life, and intelligent light,—impels, by the divine power which is incorporeal, every thing He approaches, both to live and to remain in this rational light. In like manner also, the body to which this is near becomes sanctified; and quickly does He enlighten it: all diseases too, pains and sufferings, pass away (from it); and that which was defective is supplied from (His) fulness. On this account He gave up His whole life, at one time exhibiting His image under sufferings like those common to ourselves; at another, revealing himself, God THE WORD, in great and astonishing works and acts, as God. And, when He foretold something by His prophetic words which should come to pass, He likewise exhibited Him who was invisible to the many, THE WORD OF GOD, by works, and by astonishing deeds; by signs, wonders, and extraordinary powers (put forth): and again, instructing the souls of men by the divine doctrines, He prepared them to draw near to the heavenly city which is above<sup>2</sup>, and to hasten to those their fellow-citizens there, as to their own brothers and equals: also, to know their Father who is in heaven, and the excellency of their kind, which is of the Essence that is intellectual and rational: teaching them also, that they should no more err, but henceforth so live in all purity and holiness,—so (I say), that they might make their departure hence to that place easy, and without hindrance; and, that they should be prepared to receive forthwith, with the companies of the holy Angels, everlasting life with God the King of all, and the light which cannot be described, and the kingdom of heaven.

40. Thus therefore, the ONLY (begotten) WORD OF GOD, who availed Himself of a human instrument, and set up His own Interpreter, administered every thing for the healing of men by the will of His Father; still remaining immaterial and incorporeal, just as He formerly was, with His Father<sup>3</sup>. By means of a man also, He shewed forth

<sup>1</sup> Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 538. B. it. Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 170. A. B.

<sup>2</sup> The Greek text, (Laudd. Const. p. 538. C.) leaves us here, but joins us again, sect. 45, below.

<sup>3</sup> Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. xiii. p. 169. B. C.

God to man, through mighty acts and wonderful works. In the divine Power and in true Wisdom, He scattered His doctrine (as seed); and taught these things, with others allied to them. Nor became He inferior, from what He did: nor, (as so) doing, became He the less dignified from what He taught and delivered.—The doctrines of life and words of light, He laid not down in any book of paper, nor in the perishing skins of animals; but He inscribed on the very souls of His disciples, as upon intellectual tablets, the doctrines respecting the kingdom of God. In the whole of His instructions on heavenly things, hidden enouncements, and which had never before been heard, were delivered. It was also by means of these things, that He taught that the souls which were on the earth, were beloved of God; delivered the memorial of the life that is with God the Father, in heaven; and also, stirred (men) up to cry in prayer and to say, “*Our Father who art in heaven,*” and, that they should be cognizant of their family which is above. If then, thou art desirous of being a partaker in the contemplation of these things, there is no feeling of jealousy hindering thy approach to the hearing of the Scriptures of His Disciples, and to the knowing of His record in all its parts, both as to His deeds and words; so that thou mayest in truth, view God, and THE WORD OF GOD; and see, how He existed by means of an Interpreter with men, in the example of (His) sufferings; how He, who was immortal, conversed with mortals; how the Image (of God), which is incorporeal, became vested with the nature which is human: and, how the Image of God<sup>4</sup>, which was in Him, moved (Him): how He sent forth enouncements, and made public the Divine teaching; and (how) the Saviour of all, healed every sort of disease and infirmity: and, how ready He was, in whom there was no sin, to good works; and, how those things which eyes had

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<sup>4</sup> Syr. ܐܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ, lit. *that his image, God who (was) within Him*: which, probably, ought to be written, ܐܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ, alluding to Heb. i. 3. “*the express image of his person.*” It is however, no uncommon thing with our Translator to be both defective and redundant in the use of this particle (ܐ), as remarked above.

not seen, and which had not entered into the hearing of men, He delivered in mighty deeds; and thus made His Disciples to approach the very summit of excellency with God; made them wise through the power which cannot be described, and constituted them true preachers of His Godhead. Thus again He healed those, whose souls were corrupted by every sort of sin; at one time, inflicting the sufferings (which were) helpful and right<sup>1</sup>; at another, delivering a view of the mystery and doctrine of His Godhead to those who were able to receive it. And, What need is there we should say, how easily and well, and with (what) just rebuke, He received those who were enemies to the truth: at once healing and instructing even these, by the open enunciation of His words? and, how meekly he presented His person to all as a helper, and as long suffering and passive? as a Physician also, not of souls only, but also of bodies? On this account, the name of JESUS was previously imposed on our Saviour<sup>2</sup>;—which is a Hebrew word, designating JESUS as the Physician<sup>3</sup> of all. Now, the (propriety of the) imposition of the name designating *healing* on Jesus, He evinced by the works (which He did); for He instructed the souls of men by the Heavenly doctrine, while he healed the Body of all sufferings, pains, and infirmities, by the power of the healing WORD. At one time, He cleansed the leprous in body<sup>4</sup>: at another, He cast out by (His) command the Demons that (possessed) men<sup>5</sup>: and, again at another, He freely healed those who had been reduced by disease! At one time also, to him—whose body was debilitated, and all his limbs powerless,—

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<sup>1</sup> Alluding to the chastisements mentioned above, as inflicted on the heathen.

<sup>2</sup> Luke i. 31; ii. 21. Matt. i. 21. “*For he SHALL SAVE his people*” &c. plainly intimating, that the meaning of the Heb. *יְשׁוּעָה*, should be preserved in it.

<sup>3</sup> Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. x. pp. 164, D. 165. A. This is more correctly stated thus: “*καθον δε ψυχων εμπαθων την θεραπειαν επαγγελεται, σωτηρ και ιατρος εικότως αν λεγοιτο.*” “*Quatenus verò animarum ægrotantium medelam pollicetur meritò Salvator ac Medicus dicitur.*” See also ib. B. C.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. viii. 2, 3; xi. 5. Luke vii. 22; xvii. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Matt. ix. 32; xii. 22; xvii. 18, &c.

He said by word only, "*Arise, take up thy bed, and walk*<sup>6</sup>;" and this (man) did what He commanded! And again at another time, He gave the perception of light to the Blind! And thus again, at another, a woman<sup>8</sup>,—who had been afflicted with an issue of blood, and had during the revolution of many years been reduced by her complaint, seeing that great companies were round about Him, and not allowing her to kneel and pray that she might be healed of her complaint,—thought, that if she could but touch the border of His garment, (she should be healed); she accordingly pressed in, and touched the border of his garment; and at once, she was both healed of the evil, and immediately became healthy; bearing (away with her) a mighty proof of the power of THE WORD OF GOD! Another man<sup>9</sup> also, the servant of a king,—because his child was grievously afflicted,—fell down before Him, and He forthwith took and healed him! There was another again, the chief of a synagogue<sup>10</sup> of the Jews, whose daughter (He restored); but this was after she was dead! And, What need can there be, that we should tell how another arose<sup>11</sup> by the power of the Saviour of all, who had been dead four days, hearing only the voice of the all life-giving WORD which called him? Or, how He made His paths upon the sea as upon dry land, causing His Vessel to traverse the back of the waters<sup>12</sup>? Or, how<sup>13</sup> when His Disciples were sailing and the storm was against them, He rebuked the sea, the storm, and the winds;—gave the commandment by word; and they were instantly silent, so that they were wrought upon, as by the voice of their Lord? (How) He so filled<sup>14</sup> and satisfied five thousand men,—when there was with them a company of many women and children,—with five loaves, that they took up an entire remainder which would suffice to fill twelve baskets! To Whom is not this astonishing? and Does it (not) likewise challenge the inquiry which relates to his unseen power?

<sup>6</sup> Matt. ix. 6, &c.

<sup>7</sup> Ib. ver. 27; xi. 5; xx. 30, &c.

<sup>8</sup> Matt. ix. 20. seq. &c.

<sup>9</sup> Matt. viii. 5. Luke vii. 1, 2.

<sup>10</sup> Mark v. 22.—35. seq. &c.

<sup>11</sup> John xi. 1. seq.

<sup>12</sup> Matt. xiv. 25. Mark vi. 48. John vi. 19.

<sup>13</sup> Matt. viii. 24. seq. Mark iv. 37. seq. &c.

<sup>14</sup> Matt. xiv. 19. seq. ib. xvi. 9, &c.

41. Let any one therefore who will, take up the true faith, together with the open proof of the revelation of our Saviour's Divinity, from many other great miracles; and particularly from this,—if he will also consider,—that He foreknew by the divine power what should come to pass, and openly foretold the great change to His better (doctrine) which should take place among men throughout the world; and also predicted, that He himself would be the doer of this: and from these very deeds, let such place faith in (this) His promise. Many other great and evident proofs of His Godhead moreover, (afforded) in many things similar to these, will any one, carefully enquiring, find from His predictions with their fulfilment: which we ourselves shall also examine in this work at the proper time. But, that which we now have before our eyes,—that our discourse may not lengthen itself greatly out, so as to detain thee upon all His mighty works—is the death, which (His) Interpreter,—the clothing of THE WORD OF GOD, and the Image that was openly revealed,—underwent, and which (event) every one acknowledges.

42. This His death therefore, which has been made public, was (so) accompanied by the miracle, that it was unlike that of the rest of mankind. For it was not, that He perished by disease, by strangulation, or by fire; or was, even on the cross itself, cut off by the sword, as a mark of victory, in the manner of others who are evil-doers; nor yet, did he suffer less than any one of those whom they usually put to death; for He suffered a death of violence: but He himself alone, by his own will, delivered up His Vessel to those (his) accusers; and forthwith He raised Himself from the earth;—

43. For said (the Evangelist,) “*He cried out greatly, and gave up His Spirit to His Father*<sup>1</sup>: and (so) effected a release from His soul, and made His departure from the body. On this account, He had previously delivered this same His death to his disciples, when teaching (them) and saying; “*No man taketh my life from me;*” and, “*I have power to lay it down:*” and again, “*I have power*

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<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxvii. 50, &c.



death. After viewing<sup>1</sup> these things then, let us now come again to our proofs; and let us confirm these same by open testimonies. He availed Himself therefore, of a mortal Vessel,—for the reasons already given,—as of an Image becoming the Deity; and this He both put forth into life, and by means of this, as some great king by means of an interpreter, He performed every thing that was worthy of the Divine Power.

46. For<sup>2</sup>, if He had done otherwise,—after His dealings among men,—so as not to have been seen, and had suddenly taken flight, and secretly stolen away His Interpreter; or had, in escaping, been careful to convey away His Image from death; or again, had led on that mortal (being) by means of His person, to corruption and perishing; He would have seemed to the many (but) as a spectre.

47. Nor<sup>3</sup> could He have done any thing, which it was right He should do, as being the LIFE, the WORD and the POWER of God; having given up His Interpreter to corruption and ruin.

48. Nor<sup>4</sup>, could those things which He did against the Demons, (or) in His contention with death, have been worthy of completion.

49. Nor<sup>5</sup> could it have been known, where He remained.

50. Nor could it have been believed by those, to whom He had not delivered (it);—nor had it been seen<sup>6</sup>,—that His nature was superior to death.

51. Nor, could He have delivered mortality from its own (mortal) nature.

52. Nor', could He have persuaded His disciples to despise death.

<sup>1</sup> Syr. ܠܫܘܢܐ, Gr. “τούτων θεωρίαν,” which I cite, merely to shew our Translator's extreme care to be literal.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. D.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. p. 538. D.

<sup>4</sup> Gr. “τέλους ἤξιούτο.” Syr. ܠܫܘܢܐ ܠܘܫܘܢܐ, the Latin, incorrectly, “*fuisse terminata*.”

<sup>5</sup> Ib. D.

<sup>6</sup> Ib. p. 539. A.

<sup>7</sup> Ib. where the Greek has a large addition.

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previously promised to those, who should take refuge<sup>1</sup> in Him, the life which is impervious death? This (one) then, of two things was necessary:—this, I say, that He should shew him (His Interpreter) to be superior to death. And, How was it, that it was necessary He should do this? Secretly, and by stealth? or, openly before all men, and manifestly? But, if this fact had taken place covertly and secretly; it would then have remained unknown, and unprofitable to man. But, as it was preached (to all), and heard of by all; it afforded to all, the advantage which (grew) out of the miracle. Well therefore,—because it was necessary He should shew His vessel to be superior to death,—did He also do this, not secretly, but before the eyes of (all) men. He escaped not from death; for this would have been pusillanimous<sup>3</sup>, and it would have been thought that He was inferior to death. But, by this contention with Death as with a contemporary, He established the immortality of that which was mortal; and, this last conflict which was for the salvation of all, secured (for all) the life which is immortal. For<sup>4</sup> this was done, in the first place, against the Demons, for the destruction of the error of a multitude of Gods, when He began to be known among men. It also appeared particularly necessary to Him, that, as He was to make His circuits among the flocks of men, He should immediately, (and) in the presence of all, drive out the enemies and haters of mankind,—as being the princes of wickedness, and like to cruel and fierce beasts, those (I say),—who had, from former times and falsely, been esteemed Gods. He therefore,

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<sup>1</sup> Syr. ܕܘܫܦܘܟܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ. Gr. τὸν τοῖς πρόσφυξιν ἀθανασίαν προμνύμενον. This word, therefore, (ܡܫܘܩܘܩܝܢܐ not in the Lexicons) is a regular derivative from the root ܡܫܘܩܝܢܐ. Ib. p. 539. C.

<sup>2</sup> Syr. ܕܡܫܘܩܝܢܐ, as by the rising of the Sun. This word occurs in no Lexicon accessible to me: the root is ܡܫܘܩܝܢܐ.

<sup>3</sup> Syr. ܕܡܫܘܩܝܢܐ, which occurs in no Dictionary: but, as the root is ܡܫܘܩܝܢܐ, timid, pusillanimous, or the like must be its meaning. The Greek has (Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. p. 539. D.) *χειλός*.

<sup>4</sup> Wanting the Greek, ib.

THE WORD OF GOD, immediately led out His Vessel into the land of these enemies and haters,—that (land I say), which the words of mystery style “*The Desert*,” as (being) destitute of every good thing; and there “*forty days, and as many nights*”<sup>5</sup>, He wrought and performed those things of which no mortal knew, and which the eyes of man did not see. The testimonies however of prophecy teach, that to these things the declarations of the prophetic Scriptures agree, where it is written, that “*Jesus was led of the Holy Ghost into the desert, that he might be tempted of Satan. And He was there forty days and forty nights*”<sup>6</sup>, and was *with the wild beasts*”<sup>7</sup>. And, What are these but the

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<sup>5</sup> The various methods had recourse to for the purpose of explaining this portion of scripture, may be seen in Kuinoel’s commentary on Matt. iv. 1. Poole’s Synopsis, *ib.* and on the parallel places. The comment given by Eusebius here is, certainly, a bold one. It is nevertheless, as I think, very much superior to that preferred by Kuinoel; viz. that the Devil here represents the high Priest of the Jews, who sent out his emissaries to Christ for the purpose of securing *his* influence, if possible, in favour of their policy. See the commentators on Matt. iv. with its parallel places. As I do not see any necessity here for departing from the simple and obvious declarations of the Evangelists, I will only remark, that our Lord seems to have been led to this, for the express purpose of being tempted, or tried, by Satan, “*πειρασθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ Διαβόλου*,” says St Matthew. Comp. Mark i. 13, Luke iv. 2. And, as Demoniacal influence is repeatedly and positively taught in the New Testament, I do not see why this should be doubted. It is certain moreover, that this Demoniacal influence was restrained by our Lord, and that these Demons knew Him. See Matt. viii. 28—32; xii. 22—29; xvii. 18—21. Mark i. 23—26, 34, &c. with their parallels. He also gave power to His disciples over these unclean spirits, Matt. x. 1. Luke ix. 1: and over all the power of the enemy, *ib.* x. 19. *Ib.* ver. 18, He speaks of Satan falling from heaven. Again, these spirits could not have been ignorant of the birth of Christ, as announced by the Angels and others, Luke ii. 9—15. *ib.* ver. 25. seq. comp. *ib.* xxi. 14—22. From all which it must appear, that these were *real beings*, at once *intelligent and potent*; and that our Lord actually restrained, and otherwise overcame, them. The temptation in the desert was therefore probably intended, among other things, to shew them that the Redeemer was now come, and that Jesus was that very person. Eusebius is therefore, in the main, right; although it does not appear necessary to have recourse to all the figures which he has introduced.

<sup>6</sup> Matt. iv. 2, with the omission of “*fasted*.”

<sup>7</sup> Mark i. 13.

princes of the Demons, whom the Holy Ghost has said are,—and has named by way of figure,—“*Serpents,*” “*Adders,*” “*Lions,*” and “*Dragons,*” on account of the similitude to the viciousness of each of these: (saying) “*Thou shalt tread on the serpent and adder, and shalt trample on the lion and the dragon*<sup>1</sup>?” The other things also which were done in the desert, this declaration intimates, saying thus in the person of the Vessel which He bore, “*His truth shall gird thee (as) a weapon: neither shalt thou be afraid of the fear of the night, nor of the arrow that flieth by day; nor of the thing that walketh in darkness: nor of the wind that bloweth at noon. Thousands shall fall at thy side, and tens of thousands at thy right hand: but they shall not touch thee*<sup>2</sup>.”

56. These things have been said in parables and mystically, on the conflict which (took place) in the desert between the Vessel of salvation, and the invisible spirits. During all these nights therefore, and days in like number, He contended with the whole race (of Demons) that was beneath the air. Nor was it tardily that THE WORD OF GOD drove these out, nor, that He pursued the whole congregation of the enemy; nor, that (He did this) as God in his abstract and unembodied power, but, by means of the body which He took. Because the whole race of man had, from ancient times, been subjected to these as to Gods: on this account therefore, principally, He subjected all the families of the Demons to this (His Vessel). For it was right, that He should make him who had been conquered, and iniquitously subdued to his enemies, not only (man’s) Deliverer, but also the Conqueror of his enemies; and that He (THE WORD) should shew,

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<sup>1</sup> Ps. xci. 13, as in the Peschito. See also Demonstr. Evang. Lib. ix. p. 437. seq.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. xci. ver. 4, seq. With the Peschito, except that for כַּיָּמֶיךָ, it has כַּיָּמֶיךָ; and for אֶל־אֲנָשִׁים,—which is probably the error of some copyist,—it has אֶל־אֲנָשִׁים; for אֶל־אֲנָשִׁים, ver. 6., our MS., gives אֶל־אֲנָשִׁים: which strikes me as a good interpretation of אֶל־אֲנָשִׁים here. The Syriac Translator of the Psalms seems to have read, instead of אֶל־אֲנָשִׁים, as in our copies now, אֶל־אֲנָשִׁים; probably in the sense of *thing*, or *matter*.

that His Friend, whom He had made in His own Image and similitude, was, on account of his participation in THE WORD, superior to the Demons who were formerly thought to be Gods; just as it is written in the words of mystery<sup>3</sup> (the Scriptures).

57. Because then, the Saviour of us all had completed the conflict which was opposed to these (spirits), He went up thence, clothed (as it were) with victory, entered upon the life common to men, and delivered their souls: having relieved them from the bonds of the Demons: and, having revealed to His Disciples those other secret things,—as well as these which he performed in opposition to the enemies that are unseen,—He thus spoke, and He established (it), “*Be of good courage, I have overcome the world*<sup>4</sup>.” The manner too of His victory, He taught by those things which He said to His Disciples in parables (viz.): “*No man can enter the house of a strong man and spoil his goods, unless he first bind the strong man; and then he shall spoil his house*<sup>5</sup>.” He therefore bound the strong man, and drove out the whole race of Demons. And forthwith, He (so) wrought on the souls of those who were His, that He freed them from the bitter state, slavery, and error, of a multiplicity of Gods. This His first conflict however against the Demons, was completed at the outset of His manifestation among men. But the last (His crucifixion), was the commencement of His sovereignty over Death.

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<sup>3</sup> See 1 Cor. xv. 21. “*For, since by man came death, by MAN came also the resurrection of the dead:*” comp. Rom. v. 15—20. See also Theodoret’s Dialogue III, entitled ἀπαθής, “*impatibilis,*” (Deus sc.) Tom. iv. p. 116. seq. where (p. 134.) treating, of the assumed human nature, (“*της ληφθεισης...φύσεως.*”) he thus beautifully speaks, “*επειδὴ ταύτη τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἀδὰμ παρεξήτασε. ταύτης γὰρ ἡ δικαίωσις, ταύτης ἡ πάλη, ταύτης ἡ νίκη, ταύτης τὰ πάθη, ταύτης ὁ θάνατος, ταύτης ἡ ἀνάστασις, ταύτης κοινωνοῦμεν τῆς φύσεως, ταύτη συμβασιλεύουσιν οἱ τῆς βασιλείας τὴν πολιτείαν προμελετήσαντες,*”... “*quia secundum hanc comparavit Adamum cum Christo (sc. Apostolus). Hujus enim est justificatio, hujus lucta, hujus victoria, hujus passiones, hujus mors, hujus resurrectio, hujus sumus naturæ participes, cum hac regnabunt qui se ad convenientem illi regno vitæ rationem præpararint.*”

<sup>4</sup> John xvi. 33.

<sup>5</sup> Matt. xii. 29. Mark iii. 27.

For it was right that He,—who was superior to (that which was) no God, and to the error of Demons, and, had been attached to GOD THE WORD,—should receive the honour compatible with this His deed (viz.) the victory over Death. For the Demons, which had assembled together against Him, with their Head, and with the spirits residing above the earth in the air, (and) invisible to mortal eyes, turned their backs (in flight) in His first conflict (with them); directing their view to the second, and waiting for His last egress, and departure by death, from the world, which they expected would be like that of other men. For, they had no notion that the mortal nature could ever exist, which should be superior to death; or, that Death was (not) the common king of all those, who had once experienced the birth of mortals. They thought too, that this was, of all evils, that which no man could either avoid, or evade. But, immediately after the signal mark of His first victory over the Demons, He engaged also in conflict with Death. And<sup>1</sup>, just as one wishing to shew that some vessel was incombustible and its nature superior to fire, could in no other way establish this astonishing fact, except by placing the one which he held in his hand in the fire, and then taking it out of the fire, safe and sound; so also THE WORD OF GOD, the life-giver of all, willing to make it known that the mortal Vessel, of which He had availed Himself for the redemption of man, was superior to death, and, to shew that He made it to participate in His own life<sup>2</sup>, conducted the matter both well and virtuously as it was most convenient. He left the body for a short time, and consigned mortality to death, for the rebuking<sup>3</sup> of its (sinful) nature; and again,

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<sup>1</sup> The Greek of the Orat. de laudd. Constant. again joins us here, cap. xv. p. 539. D.

- Gr. “της οικείας ζωῆς τε και ἀθανασίας,” ib. p. 540. A.

<sup>3</sup> Gr. “εις ἔλεγχον τῆς οικείας φύσεως.” Lat. trans. “ut ejus natura hoc indicio probaretur.” Our translator gives,  $\sigma\iota\mu\sigma\upsilon\ \{\zeta\sigma\iota\mu\sigma\upsilon\}$ : taking  $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\chi\omicron\nu$  in its most obvious sense, and, as I think, in that which Eusebius intended: not for the purpose of implying, that the nature of Christ deserved this rebuke, but that mortality did, for the sins of which He engaged to suffer. The note of Valesius on “Christ’s leaving the body for a short time,”—intimating that this required a benignant interpretation, because, as he says, He never left it even for



kind: the sacrifice turning (men)<sup>1</sup> back from the error of Demons. The sacrifice therefore,—the great offering, and that which was superior to all (other) sacrifices,—was the Body of our Saviour which was sacrificed as a Lamb, for the whole race of mankind: and it came up<sup>2</sup> for the souls of all the nations that had been held in the impiety of their forefathers, the error of the Demons. And thence, the whole impure and unholy power of Demons was destroyed; this whole vain and earthly system of error, was instantly dissolved and ruined by a superior power! He therefore who was, from among men, the sacrifice of Redemption,—the bodily Vessel of THE WORD OF GOD,—was sacrificed for the flock of all mankind. And this is He, who was, by the accusation of men, delivered up as a sacrifice to death; of whom the Divine words exclaim, speaking at one time thus: “*Behold! The Lamb of God: behold! He (it is) who taketh away the sins of the world*<sup>3</sup>.” And at another, thus previously enouncing: “*As a Lamb He was led to the slaughter; and, as a sheep before the shearer, He was silent*<sup>4</sup>.” And the same (Divine word) teaches the cause, saying: “*Truly He underwent our sufferings, and bore our pains; but we considered Him bruised and stricken of God, and humiliated*<sup>5</sup>. *He was slain because of our sins, and was humbled because of our iniquity. The chastisement of our peace was upon Him, and by His stripes are we healed. All we have strayed like sheep, and (each) man has turned to his part; and the Lord has made to meet in him the sins of us all*<sup>6</sup>.” This bodily vessel therefore of THE WORD

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where the same term occurs. The reason of this, and of similar changes of ʔ to ʒ, and ʒ to ʔ, and particularly in proper names, I suspect to be a pronunciation in some respects similar, given to these letters in the mouth of a native Syrian.

<sup>1</sup> Syr. ܘܢܘܨܘܢܘܬܐ, Gr. ἀποτρόπαιον. Lat. Trans. “*profligavit.*” Inferior to the Syriac.

<sup>2</sup> Syr. ܘܥܘܒܘܬܐ, *came up*, as an offering here, apparently.

<sup>3</sup> John i. 29, cited also Demonstr. Evang. Lib. cap. x. p. 37. A.

<sup>4</sup> Is. liii. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Ib. ver. 4—7. Orat. de laudd. Constant. ib. B. C.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. x. p. 164.

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(as it were,) small and great, Princes and Subjects, Kings at once and People, as well as the Inhabitants and Societies of all nations and families, by the fear of death. Nor had mankind any solace for this evil, either in word, or form, or manner of life, opinion of the wise, writing of the Ancients, prophecy of the Prophets, or revelation of Angels. He was superior to all, supreme over all, and victorious over all! Death, like an inflated boaster,—who had subjected to himself the whole mortal race,—was conversant with every species of iniquity, both the impurities of blood-shedding, and the deeds which were unrighteous; with the error also of every sort of vile (and) ungodly impiety. For, of all these things he was the Cause; and, as if there were again no existence after death, the many did in their conduct the things which deserved death, and as if unsubdued by (the fear of) any impending punishment. On account of this dissoluteness (resulting) from death, they lived a life which (in reality) was no life: they entertained not God in their thoughts, nor the righteous judgment of God: nor did they cherish the remembrance of the rational Essence of their own souls. They were conversant (only) with the one hard Ruler, Death; and were reconciled to the corruption resulting from this, which was the undoing of their whole soul. On this account it was, that they gave the name of Pluto<sup>3</sup>,—the god of riches,—to Death: and Death became their god! And not he alone, but also those precious things which were in his presence, and contributed to a life of lust, became their Gods! The very lust of the body therefore, became to them a God! the common aliments, a God! the seed which fell into the earth, a God! the pleasant blossoms of this, a God! the flowers of the apples, a God! the pleasure that was in drunkenness, a God! the love of the body, a God! and the very lust of these things! Hence, the mysteries of Demeter and of Proserpine: as also the rape of the Maid<sup>4</sup> to Hell; and again, her return. Hence the feasts of Dionysus (Bacchus)—and of Hercules—who was overcome as by some great god by drunkenness! Hence the mysteries of the adultery of Mars and Venus! Hence the

<sup>3</sup> Syr. 𐤒𐤁𐤍𐤏. See Book II. sect. 4. seq.

<sup>4</sup> Book II. sect. 15.

madness of Jupiter after women, and his love of Ganymede! the rambling stories about Gods lovers of lust, and attached to the vilest affections! And of all these, was Death the (originating) Cause: for they believed Death to be the end and conclusion of all, the dissolution and corruption both of bodies and souls; and that there was no other life, except this of the body, and which is corporeal:—living a life worse than that of the whole irrational nature of beasts! On these accounts, it became the desire of the universal King, THE WORD OF GOD, at the intimation of His merciful Father, and for the purpose of affording help to these, to hasten,—as a king great in mercy,—and to undertake the reprehension of Death, by means of human nature; being as He was, THE LIFE, THE WORD, and THE POWER OF GOD. Nor was it but that help should be obtained, that He caused that fearful being among men to be reprov'd: on this account, He, who was incorporeal,—availing Himself of human armoury, and of a mortal body,—by means of mortality overcame mortality. Hence His primary mystery, that of His Body, was instituted: and hence, the signal mark of the victory of the Cross; hence too, the commemoration of the life which is eternal and immortal, He named<sup>1</sup> *His remembrance*. Of the armoury which is mortal, He availed Himself, and exhibited that greatest of miracles to all men, the mark of victory of eternal life, which He established in opposition to Death. For, He gave up mortality to be food for the beasts<sup>2</sup>; and He himself was forthwith affixed to the cross of crucifixion, in order that to all might become known the nature of mortality. Nor was that which was done concealed by any means; neither from men,

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<sup>1</sup> Syr. ܘܨܘܒܐ, to be read doubtless, ܘܨܘܒܐ, for the reason assigned above. Sect. 59, note. See also sect. 71, with the notes.

<sup>2</sup> Allusion seems here to be made to Ps. LXXIV. 14, in which we are told, that God brake the *heads of the Leviathan, and gave him to be meat to the people inhabiting the wilderness.* (Gr. Αἰθιοψία), taking the Leviathan as representing the evil principle which had corrupted mortality. Comp. Is. xxvii. 1, and see my notes on Job xli. 1. Our author probably means, that He gave up His body to men, &c. who might be termed beasts, because of the fierceness of their nature. Comp. Ps. xxii. 12, 13, 16, 21.

nor from Demons, nor from the Powers which are superior. For it was necessary, that all should take an accurate view of mortality, as in a great theatre<sup>3</sup>, when He (thus) testified of the nature of His (human) person ; and afterwards (see) Death coming in like a fierce beast : and (also see), why it was that it slew Him : and (that) then, the Power of life came in after Death, and again established for all the victory which is over Death, when he had thus made that which was mortal, immortal. The Power therefore, which had taken hold of him, (viz.) THE WORD OF GOD, left the Body for a short time ; and it was suspended for a short space on the Cross, and became a corpse. But the WORD, which gives life to all, became not a corpse. He therefore (thus) attested the mortal nature of his Person. This corpse too, of which Death had (so) taken possession, was now borne by men ; and—being worthy of the usual care—was afterwards consigned, according to the laws of men, to burial. The grave itself was a cave which had recently been hewn out ; a cave that had now been cut out in a rock, and which had experienced (the reception of) no other body. For it was necessary that it, which was itself a wonder, should have the care of that Corpse only. For it is astonishing to see even this rock, standing out erect and alone in a level land, and having only one cavern within it ; lest, had there been many, the miracle of Him who overcame Death should have been obscured. The Corpse was therefore laid there, the Vessel of the living WORD ; and a great stone held (the entrance of) the cave. And much did Death exult in this, as if, behold ! he had (now) taken even this (Personage) under his power, together with those whom he had ever (so taken). But, when the period of three days had not yet passed, the same life shewed itself, after the rebuke which was sufficient against Death<sup>4</sup>. For, if He had

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<sup>3</sup> So Paul, Col. ii. 15. “ And having spoiled principalities and powers, He made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them in it” (His cross).

<sup>4</sup> I. e. to prove that he really died. This was, no doubt, intended to have its force against the Docetæ, who held that it was a phantom only of Christ which had been affixed to the cross, and *appeared* to die, (which the Mohammedans, after these, still hold)—and thus virtually denying a vital point in the faith of a christian.



that they even followd after death, on account of (their) desire of that immortal life, which should succeed it.

63. Hence indeed, originated the care of mankind for the life which is holy and pure, and the diligence to attain to every (sort of) excellency: the (constant) recollection of God, and of the many enouncements respecting the righteousness of truth, and of the turning away from vice and ungodliness. Nor was it this only, but also the true notion of the life which is after death, was stirred up among all men, and (so was) the right and true state of mind, respecting the righteous judgment of God, the King of all. On this account did the whole race of man,—which had (now) been changed to a state of virtue by means of enouncements not to be described,—henceforward spit in the faces of the Idols, trample under foot the unjust laws of the Demons, and laugh at the ancient traditionary system of error of their forefathers.

64. Henceforward therefore, men became so instructed in the heavenly doctrine, and the enouncements respecting the knowledge of God, that they no more reverentially viewed this visible creation with the bodily eyes; nor, when looking upwards and seeing the Sun, Moon, and Stars, did they address their veneration to them: but they acknowledged Him who is beyond these;—Him who is secret and invisible,—Him who is the Creator of all, and the Maker of every thing: even as they had been taught to fear Him alone.

65. Nor did he, who had been instructed in the new doctrine, again imagine as formerly, that this nature of the body, which is fleeting<sup>2</sup> and corruptible, inanimate (in itself,) and irrational;—nor, that the primitive elements, Earth, Water, Air, and Fire,—were Gods; since he had also been taught, that the superiority of his own soul greatly excelled these.

66. Nor is he as formerly, a slave to his own lusts; nor is he overcome by the baser desires: for he was then vanquished, and could not overcome: (nor<sup>3</sup>) can he, who has

<sup>2</sup> Our text has an error of the press here, viz. ܠܥܘܕܝܘܬܐ, for ܠܥܘܕܝܘܬܐ.

<sup>3</sup> I think it highly probable that the Syriac negative, ܘܢܐ, has in this place been lost, by the mistake of some copyist.

been commanded to be careful to root up the sin (of idolatry) from his mind and soul, together with every evil desire and folly, again fabricate Gods to himself, or, even dare to look upon a woman lustfully.

67. Nor will he again as formerly, venerate the Interpreter<sup>1</sup> of his own soul, or dare to call it a God: nor will he name his own mind Minerva<sup>2</sup>; nor indeed, any of those other things, which are in like manner but for an hour; but Him alone who is beyond all, the WORD OF GOD, the Artificer of all, the WISDOM OF THE GOD OF ALL, will he recognize and bless, as his Saviour.

68. Nor again as in former times, does he,—who has subscribed to the one who alone is superior to Death; to the Conqueror, who has possessed himself of the signal mark of Victory over the power of Death; to his Saviour;—give the names and appellations of Heroes and Gods, to mortals who left this world in shame, and surrendered their lives to the dominion of Death.

69. Nor again as in former times, will he reverence inanimate Idols. Nor will he honour the nature which is irrational, and of Beasts, through that fear<sup>3</sup> of Demons which is out of nature. But, he will laugh at the error of his forefathers, and will turn his face from their manner (of life), which was destitute both of the knowledge of God, and of the contemplation<sup>4</sup> (of this).

70. Nor will he again as in former times, express terror at the images of evil Demons, nor at the vain and erroneous phantasms of earthly spirits:—he (I say) who

<sup>1</sup> Applying this term, as on several occasions, with reference to the human nature of Christ.

<sup>2</sup> Syr. [𐤊𐤏], the Greek Ἀθήνη, *Minerva*, alluding, no doubt, to the practices of the heathen, who made, both of the bodies and mental faculties of men, Gods. See Book II. Par. 5, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Syr. [𐤋𐤍𐤏𐤓], which should, from the ribbui or mark of the plural number, be considered as a plural according to the doctrine of the common Grammars: but the construction forbids this. The ribbui here,—as in other instances,—only shewing that the general sense implies a plurality.

<sup>4</sup> Syr. lit. *The sight, view*. [𐤋𐤏𐤓 𐤊𐤏], alluding perhaps, to the blindness so often said, in the scriptures, to attach itself to the heathen.

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72. Nor again will he, who has been taught by the words of his Saviour, to “*mortify his members that are on the earth*<sup>1</sup>,” dare, as formerly, to give the title of gods to the aliments of the body, and to drunkenness; nor yet to the lusts and passions.

73. Nor again will he,—who has subscribed to the only *One* who is above all, the life-giving WORD OF GOD, who is his Saviour, and the Conqueror of Death,—be afraid of the solution of his soul, from the body which (now) accompanies it. Nor will he call Death, God.

74. With all these instructions of righteousness therefore, will he be armed who has been taught in the new doctrine. Nor will he, in opposition to the truth, give in

descended from heaven, when we think him to be the son of Joseph? and, How can this man give his body?—Good Dr Wiseman however, the indefatigable propugner of the Roman Catholic doctrines, has no doubt, that the Jews *were right* in giving the interpretation which this Father reprobates! and also, that Bar Salibi was an upholder of his own opinions! (See my Sermon, pp. 89, 100, 135—6.) Eusebius himself has, moreover, given his view of the nature of the Eucharist, in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, (Lib. I. x. 39. A.) in the following words: speaking of the XL. Psalm, he says, “*ὡς ἂν μεγα μυστήριον ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου τῇ προφητικῇ φωνῇ προαναπεφωνημένον. τούτου δῆτα τοῦ θύματος τὴν μνήμην ἐπὶ τραπέζης ἐκτελεῖν διὰ συμβόλων, τοῦ τε σώματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου αἵματος κατὰ θεσμούς τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης παρειληφότες,*” κ. τ. λ. Much the same is said a little higher up (ib. p. 37.) on Is. liii. Again, (ib. p. 39,) he terms these sacrifices, “*τας ἄσωματους, καὶ νοερας θυσίας.*” See the rest of this Book to the end, where he admirably shews, that it was this sort of sacrifice which was constantly foretold under the Old Testament. So also Origen *contra Cels.* Lib. viii. p. 416, “*ἔστι δὲ καὶ σύμβολον ἡμῖν τῆς πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν εὐχαριστίας, ἄρτος εὐχαριστία καλούμενος.*” But the most remarkable passage to this effect occurs in Theodoret. *Dialog.* II. “*Inconfusus.*” Tom. iv. p. 85. B. “*οὐδε γὰρ μετὰ τὸν ἀγιασμὸν τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῆς οἰκείας ἐξίσταται φύσεως. μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας, καὶ τοῦ σχήματος, καὶ τοῦ εἶδους, καὶ ὁρατὰ ἔστι, καὶ ἀπτά, οἷα καὶ πρότερον ἦν.*” κ. τ. λ. “*Neque enim symbola mystica post sanctificationem recedunt à sua natura. Manent enim in priore substantia, et figura, et forma, et videri tanquam possunt, sicut et prius.*” See my Visitation Sermon, notes, p. 155, and the opinions of the Syrian Fathers, ib. p. 136. seq.

<sup>1</sup> Col. iii. 5. Differing slightly from the Peschito.

to those who dare to contend with God ; but will stand up, in the mind (so) confirmed, against fire and sword ; will bear up in the presence of fierce beasts, of the depths of the sea, and of every other terror of death. Those too, who in their natures are (mere) children and women, will sport with that death which was formerly (so) grievous, and the hearing about which was (so) dreadful. Barbarians at once and Greeks, who have received the powerful persuasion respecting the life which is immortal, by means of the resurrection of our Saviour, do follow after the life of that better wisdom, the fear of God, the signal mark of their victory over death, and of the eternal life which follows, having subscribed to their Saviour.

75. <sup>2</sup>Hence it is, that this rational race of man,—since it has been its lot to reside on the earth,—this same (I say) acts henceforth according to its nature ; being taught to live in the remembrance of God, in the fulness of every good, and in accordance with the prediction of the prophets, who, many years ago (inspired) from above, thus previously preached : “ *All the ends of the earth shall remember themselves, and be turned to the Lord their God ; and before Him shall worship all the families of the nations : because the kingdom is the Lord’s, and He is Governour over the Gentiles*<sup>3</sup>.”

76. Hence, places of instruction have been established throughout the whole creation of man ; so that the words of God, the doctrine of purity of life and of the fear of God, are preached in the hearing of all nations.

77. Hence, in every city and place, congregations (assembled) from among all, ascribe, in songs of victory, honour to the all-life-giving WORD of God.

78. Hence, the hymns which are suitable to the assemblies of Angels in heaven, even the race of mankind tenders to God the King of all. And henceforth,—together

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<sup>2</sup> The Syriac is obscure here. I trust however, I have succeeded in giving its meaning.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. xxii. 27, 28. Differing from the Peschito only in the addition of  $\epsilon\omicron\sigma\tau\alpha\delta$ , *their God*. Cited also Demonstr. Evang. Lib. II. cap. i. v. p. 46. Where our author has, and in the following Book, collected a very large number of Prophecies on the coming of our Lord.

with those spirits, the intelligent and unembodied powers that are with God who is above all; those also, whose lot it is to reside below on this element of earth, as also the rational souls of the just,—do, by means of the body, as by an instrument of music, send forth the hymns which are becoming, and the blessings which are due, to their one Saviour, the cause of every good. And that, which never (before) existed, the fruit which is due to God the universal King, is now daily rendered (to Him) throughout the whole creation of man, by every race as by one general agreement, and at the same befitting hours and seasons<sup>1</sup>.

79. Those genealogies of the Demons, and stories about the Gods, which are now superannuated, perished when (so) consigned to oblivion. But, the word of Christ is renewed, and in (vigorous) youth with all. Now are the Divine Laws and Lessons preached throughout the whole earth, and they succeed in purifying all men. The instruction too, of the fear of God in truth, has filled all places, both of the Barbarians and the Greeks. Now do those of foreign, as well as those of many, languages, send forth in one manner of life, and with one consent, the ascriptions of blessing which are becoming, to the Creator of all:—one enunciation, the same Law, and one mystery<sup>2</sup>, suitable to God: and to this same conduct do they adhere. Now has there been established, throughout the whole creation, one combination of souls, and one accordance of doctrine. And hence, at one moment of time do those whose lot it is to reside together in the east, along with those at the setting of the Sun, glorify, by means of the same doctrines, the One God who is beyond all, the Lord of the whole world. Nor do they subscribe to any other, except only to the Christ of God, who is the cause of their happiness. Those also, who have possession of the northern parts, together with those who are in the south, at once call Him THE SAVIOUR. And, so do they honour God in the same (forms of) words, that no difference will

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<sup>1</sup> That is, on the same stated days and at the same hours of prayer.

<sup>2</sup> Syr. [1;], i.e. Sacrament of the Eucharist.

again soon be made—although it might be imagined as to speech,—between the Barbarian and the Greek<sup>3</sup>; nor, that the Greek be a person to be distinguished from the Barbarian; for with God “*there is neither Barbarian nor Greek*”<sup>4</sup>. For every one fearing God, is (here) a wise man. And now Egyptians, Syrians, Scythians, Italians, Moors<sup>5</sup>, Persians, and Hindoos, all and at once, have become wise by the doctrines of Christ. In these things too are they all, at once made wise, and (so) instructed, as to be intrepid against Death; to despise the things of this life, and to put forth the one good hope, which is in the promise of the word of our Saviour. But they also learn, that they shall receive that life of the soul which is immortal, and which has henceforth been promised to them as a deposit, in the habitation of the circle of the heavens, and in the kingdom of God. This promise, their Saviour confirmed by deeds in His conflict with Death; by which He proved to his Disciples, that Death which had (hitherto) been so fearful to all men, was nothing. The life moreover, which had been promised by Him, He established by open view to their very eyes; so that they should even see it; and made this His Image (body), by its resurrection, the commencement of our hope,—of the imperishable life of our bodies, of the soul as being immortal, and of our greatness as like to that of the Angels.

80. The deeds therefore, pertaining to Redemption and affording aid to the world, as to the Revelation of THE WORD OF GOD among men, are these. If however, any one require a greater abundance, so as to be supplied with many other proofs of the Divine power (in this respect), personal leisure will be requisite, for the examination of the things which have been written respecting Him. Of these I will select a few from the writings

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<sup>3</sup> Allied to this, Orat. de laudd. Constant. cap. i. near the beginning.

<sup>4</sup> Col. iii. 11.

<sup>5</sup> The Syr. has ܡܘܪܝܢܐ. One would expect rather to find Medians (ܡܕܝܢܐ) here. Still, the reading might be correct, as the *Μαυροί* were an ancient people inhabiting a part of Colchis. See Bochart, Phaleg. Lib. iv. cap. xxxi. p. 325.

of His Disciples,—which he previously preached as predicting the things which should be done by Him,—in proof of his Godhead: and will so lay before those, who do not acknowledge the conclusiveness of my former statements: this as the last (and greatest).

*The End of the Third Book (of Eusebius) of  
Cæsarea.*

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## BOOK IV.

### THE FOURTH BOOK (OF EUSEBIUS) OF CÆSAREA.

1. It is desirable then, that we should hear from the common Saviour of all himself, who, speaking with men after the manner of a good Parent, became as a child, and gave (his) answers, as the nature of mortals was able to hear, by means of the vessel which he assumed, as through an Interpreter. For, when he made his Divine manifestation among men, he gave many other proofs of the power of his Godhead, by means of deeds which any one who chooses may collect, from the Books (that have been written) about Him. Nor will that again, be a trifling conviction as to His truth, which takes its stand on the words which he uttered, and which it is necessary we should bring forward against those, who do not readily give credence to his astonishing Divine performances. Even in those other things which have been preached respecting Him,—which (consist) in the *power* of His words,—there is no small proof afforded to those who possess mind. For, as on many occasions, we know those whom we have never seen with our eyes, and whose words only we have heard; and distinguish the speaker by what we hear, whether he be Greek,—as the case may be,—or Roman, or even Egyptian; or, whether in age old, or young; or, whether the strain be that of man, or woman; or, the enunciation that of the wise and rational, or, on the contrary, of the foolish or ignorant; so also, although we might not have happened to see with our eyes those Divine acts which THE WORD OF GOD performed, when He made His conversation on earth; still, from the teaching of His words, the enunciation of which was foreign, and surpassing general apprehension;—also, from the foreknowledge of things to come to pass which he predicted;—and, from the things which he promised he would do in after times;—as well as from the issue of the things (so) predicted, the ful-

filment of which is now before our eyes, (and) brought about by his power;—there must result no mean proof, as to those (declarations) which bear testimony to His Godhead. For, the miracles which were performed by Him may be divided into (two) periods; that, in which the conversations He made on earth are commemorated, and that which succeeded, and extends to our times. Those great acts then, which he formerly did when he was with the men who happened to exist at that time, it was in their power openly to view; but to us, these were unseen; and they are laid down, (as) having been unseen. And thus again also, the things which have been fulfilled in our times,—in the order in which His words foretold them, and are even to this present witnessed by us in the very facts,—could not, to those of the times in which they were foretold, have yet been known as to their results; and they were, no doubt, considered by them, who believed not, as impossible. It is nevertheless likely that even then, those whose character was that of sound judgment,—although not witnessing the results of the predictions,—did still believe in them, on account of His other acts. For, Is it likely that they who saw with their eyes the evident powers of God, the miracles and astonishing acts and deeds which eclipsed all mortal nature, believed only the things which were then seen, but, (as) confirmed by these of his foreknowledge, did not (as) readily also believe those which were afterwards to come to pass?—So that again, it is right that we should, from those miracles which we ourselves have seen, also give our credence to the things which were then witnessed by his Disciples. For, the very things which were delivered in the hearing only of (our) predecessors, are (now) visible to our own eyes: and, they are sufficient for those whose judgment is incorrupt, as proofs setting a seal on the things which have been recorded. And these are the things which then existed not; nor had they yet been set up; nor had they so much as ever entered into the minds of men: but they were foretold by Him, from His divine foreknowledge of the future; and, in after times, they have been fulfilled, and are in (these) our times seen by us, even to this very day. Of these, our means of knowledge are at hand.

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knowledge of Him, and of the confession (made) of Him, should be considered worthy of honour with God, equal to that of the Hebrew Fathers:—even of him who is preached of as being the Father of their Fathers, Abraham, who went forth from among his idolatrous forefathers, and changed his manner of life; and, leaving the error of many Gods, recognized the ONE GOD who is over all. He also foretold, that like to this (man), and to his sons Isaac and Jacob, there should be myriads of men throughout the whole creation; and particularly of those who resided both in the East, and the West. To these things He added,—and this (constitutes) the greatness of the prediction,—that these very Jews, the descendants of these Friends of God, who make their boast of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, should, on account of their resistance to Him, and their want of belief in Him,—as if cut off from the light of knowledge,—go forth into outer darkness: and, because of their extreme ignorance and foolishness, (be consigned to) an entire disseverance from the light of salvation<sup>3</sup>. Thus He predicted.—It is now right we should consider the fulfilment of these things, and receive from the testimony of our eyes how these very Jews, who boasted of their descent from the family of those called the Friends of God, have been cast out, not only from the kingdom of God, but also from their own metropolis, the most excellent place of rule, in which the law appointed that their noblest service should be performed! and (how) those who were formerly free, and the virtuous children of these Fathers, have become slaves; and, being mixed with foreign nations,—a thing unlawful with them,—wander about in lands not their own, and are not permitted to view, even from a distance, the land of their own religious worship! Being moreover, deprived of those princes and kings, who were vested with

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<sup>3</sup> Syr. ܠܥܘܢܐ ܕܝܫܘܥܐ, which, perhaps, ought to be, ܠܥܘܢܐ ܕܝܫܘܥܐ, lit. *the light of the Saviour*: but, if ܠܥܘܢܐ be an adjective, then *saving light* will be the meaning. Without further authority however, this point must remain undetermined:—which will not affect the general reader.

rule by traditionary right, they now remain in subjection to those who have rased their temple to the ground, and have subdued their whole nation! Nor is there, as formerly, either prophet or revelation; nor is there help, or act of God. Of all these things, not one existed from ancient times; it was (only) after our Saviour had turned away His face from them that these came upon them, according to His predictions; and such are the things respecting the Jews.

4. Instead then, of that one Chiliarch who drew near to our Saviour at that period, a number of men exceeding description has, from all nations, drawn near to Him, not of Chiliarchs only, but also of the mass of the Roman armies; so that even myriads of princes and governours bearing rule among the nations, and in the (various) regions; and also of others, much more honourable and exalted than these,—those who are great, and glory in the royal apartments,—have like the Chiliarch approached the Christ of God; and have, by means of his doctrine, acknowledged the God of those Friends of the Deity, who (formerly) arose among the Hebrews; and they have accordingly, been considered worthy of a return from God the supreme King, equal to that afforded to these. If indeed any one will consider, what numbers of Christians and of churches, and of vast congregations, are said to be in the country of the Persians and of the Hindoos, residing in the East; and, how there are with these, through the words of our Saviour, women, virgins desiring, and men coming over to, holiness, and to the provisions which are for the life of philosophy and of purity, and how numerous the confessors are, who live among these:—

5. Also, how those very persons who confess Him who has arisen from the seed of Abraham, and that He is the Christ of God; and have become, by means of the new birth which is in Him, the children of Abraham; and have (thus) set their seal to the prophetic Word of our Saviour: and this also, that, in like manner, in the western parts of the world, the whole of Spain and Gaul<sup>1</sup>, in the countries of the

<sup>1</sup> Syr. [ܣܦܢܝܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܠܢܕܐ], lit. *Spaniards and Gauls*.

Moors and Africans, in the (Islands of the) Ocean itself, and in Britain<sup>2</sup>, men subscribe to Christ, and even acknowledge the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: upon Him also they call in their prayers, and are looked upon (as) partakers with these same (Fathers) in the worship of God:— If (I say), any one will therefore take these things into his consideration, he will then understand what the power of the prophetic word (was) that declared and said, “*Many<sup>3</sup> shall come from the East and the West, and shall sit down in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven.*” These things therefore, He said, and foretold to the Chiliarch: and, on many other occasions, things not unlike these to the Jewish Doctors. And in this manner He spoke: “*When<sup>4</sup> ye see Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and all the Prophets, in the kingdom of God, and yourselves going out. And they shall come from the East, and from the West, and from the South, and shall sit down in the Kingdom of God.*” Of these things an open confirmation is afforded by the fact, of all nations having been converted to the God who is over all. These, He therefore said to them, respecting the conversion of all nations to God, who is over all.

6. Thou wilt learn moreover, from the writings of His Disciples,—that it was by their means He was about soon to call in the nations—which are to this effect: “*When<sup>5</sup> Jesus passed over a part of the sea of Galilee, he saw two brethren, Simon who is called Cephas, and Andrew his brother, casting nets into the sea:—for they were fishers. —He said to them, Follow me; and I will make you fishers of men. And they, in the same hour, left their nets and followed him. And, when he departed thence, He saw two brethren, James the son of Zebedee and John his brother, in the ship with Zebedee their Father, and He called them; and they, in the same hour, left the ship and*

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<sup>2</sup> It is commonly assumed by the Roman Catholics, that Christianity was unknown in Britain until Austin the Monk introduced it at the command of Gregory the Great. With how much truth this is done the reader will see, when he finds that the Fathers generally asserted the contrary. See the “*Lux Evangelica*” of Fabricius, and Stillingfleet’s “*Origines Ecclesiæ Britannicæ.*”

<sup>3</sup> Matt. viii. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Luke xiii. 28, 29.

<sup>5</sup> Matt. iv. 18.

*their Father, and followed Him.*” Another writer too has left it on record, that He spoke to Simon on two occasions, a prediction similar to this: “*When a great multitude was standing over against Jesus,*” He (this writer) has said, that “*He went up into one of the ships, which was Simon’s; and, when He had sat down in it, He interpreted to the multitude.*” But, after the teaching which was sufficient,—because it was suitable that He should add some Divine work to His words, for the advantage of those who were looking on,—He<sup>1</sup> commanded Simon to “*cast forth his net for a draught: and he said to Him, We have toiled the whole night, and have found nothing; nevertheless at thy word, I will cast out the net.*” And, what He had been commanded, he did. And, when he had taken a great number of fishes, their nets were breaking,—because they were heavy with the many (fishes),—and they called to those who were in the ship at their side, to help them. And thus, when they had drawn up the fishes, they filled both their ships, insomuch that they were pressed to sinking; and, upon these things, Simon was astonished and wondered, confessing that he was not worthy, that our Saviour should come near him<sup>2</sup>. But, when He had thus shewn him a representation of what

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<sup>1</sup> As an extract from the Greek original of this place has been preserved in the Imperial Library of Vienna (Lambecii XLII. Nesselii LXXI.) and which has been kindly communicated to me by its learned Librarian Dr Kopitar, through the intervention of the Right Honourable Lord Napier, I shall here give it. I give Dr Kopitar’s whole transcript. “Exscriptum e Codice Theol. græco. Vindob. fol. 246. v. ad Luc. v. 6. de reti rupto: Εὐσεβίου εὐαγγελικ θεοφά.:—rubro colore. Παρακελευεται μὲν τῷ πέτρῳ ὁ ΚΥ. χαλάσαι εἰς ἄγραν τὰ δίκτυα. ὁ δὲ τὸ προστεταγμένον ἐποίει· ὡς δὲ συνέκλεισαν πλήθος ἰχθύων πολὺ. καὶ διερρήγνυτο τὰ δίκτυα τῷ πλήθει βαρούμενα, προσκαλοῦνται μὲν εἰς βοήθειαν τοὺς ἐν τῷ γειτνιῶντι πλοίῳ. εἰτ’ ἀνεκκύσαντες τοὺς ἰχθύας, πληροῦσιν ἄμφω τὰ σκάφη. ὡς κίνδυνεύειν αὐτὰ βυδίσθῆναι· ἐφ’ οἷς ὁ πέτρος ἀποθανμάσους ἐξεπλάγη. ἀνάξιόν τε ἑαυτὸν τῆς σριῶν (?) ἐπιβάσεως ὠμολόγει:—seq. rub. γρη θεολογ.” Another extract, with which I was favoured through the same channel, will be found in Book v. sect. 38.

<sup>2</sup> The Greek Orat. de laudd. Constant. extract extends to this place.



with every sort of the fish that are rational. But these things, which were then heard by word, were words and sounds, and nothing more: it was an effort of the Divine Power itself, which, at no distant time, brought them to pass; and so fulfilled by deeds the things which had been foretold, that, in a short time, He made His own possession the whole creation of mankind,—congregations innumerable,—by means of these poor and illiterate men; and, that His Churches were every where filled, both with Greeks and Barbarians. For, it was not by that one Divine word of promise, that He would teach His Disciples, but, that He would MAKE *them Fishers of men*. Nor was it therefore, that He knew only, what should come to pass; nor, that He foretold this; but, that He should also be looked upon (as) the Effectuator of all this knowledge.—He spoke in word, and He performed and established the deed:—that something (I say), which was to be brought about, (He foretold) by demonstration and representation; and of this He gave the fulfilment in the fact itself! For, to them who formerly toiled throughout the lengthened night, which was dark and destitute of the true light and knowledge of God, and could find nothing which they could take, (leading) to salvation, He arose (as the sun) in His brightness, and commanded those who were in the light and the day,—not by their art, but by trusting in his word,—to cast out their nets into the deep. And they so enclosed this great multitude of fish, that their fishing vessels were pressed to breaking, and the ships themselves to remaining in the deep from their weight. And, because these things were so done, astonishment and great fear came upon Simon. But, our Saviour said (as it were) these things to him, *Let not these things alarm thee: they are (but as) recitations for the present, and representations of something hereafter to come to pass: for, these are fish unendued with either voice, or reason; these too, are ships and nets, composed of (earthly) material, and are inanimate; but, not as these things, are those of which these are the representations: for shortly afterwards,—that is, immediately, now, and forthwith,—thou shalt be a fisher of men unto life (eternal). This laborious fishing which returns no profit, thou shalt relinquish; and, thou shalt become a*

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these Churches—which Simon set up, and by all those near them,—are these things commemorated. Those too that are in Egypt and in Alexandria itself, did he again, not by his own means, but by those of Mark, his disciple, erect. Of those also, that are in Italy and among the nations adjoining, he was the Steward (Dispenser): and he made his disciple Mark the Teacher and Fisherman of those in Egypt. Now, give thy consideration likewise, to the rest of our Saviour's Disciples, on those whom He said *He would make Fishers of men*;—and this his word He has shewn forth by deeds. For up to this time He did, and caused, that, forthwith, and throughout the whole creation of man,—His rational net should be filled with every sort of rational fish, Barbarian and Greek; and that He should draw up from the depths of evil, and the darkness of ungodliness, the souls of men; turning these daily and hourly to the light and knowledge of God which had been delivered by Himself. Which things, seen as they are with our own eyes, establish,—as it appears to me,—beyond (all) doubt, the Divine manifestation of our Saviour.

7. Art thou desirous then, of hearing a third declaration of the Divine word, which foretold that His Disciples should arise (as the Sun) throughout the whole world? Hear this also, for it is after this manner: “*Ye<sup>1</sup> are the light of the world:*” and, “*A city that is built on a hill cannot be hidden:*” “*nor do men light a candle, and place it under a bushel, but upon a candlestick; and it giveth light to all that are in the house. So let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven.*” Here again, these very fishermen, who went forth from Galilee,—a corner<sup>2</sup> of Judea so called, which is situate on the sea; and of which Isaiah,—one of the Prophets,—making known at once its obscurity, and at the same time, the rising (as of the Sun) of our Saviour, which he announced should take place there,—proclaimed (saying), “*Galilee<sup>3</sup> of the Gentiles, a people sitting in*

<sup>1</sup> Matt. v. 14—16.

<sup>2</sup> Syr. ܩܘܢܝܢ. Castell (Edit. Michaelis, ܩܘܢܝܢ) gives ܩܘܢܝܢ *angulus*: while the examples have ܩܘܢܝܢ.

<sup>3</sup> Is. ix. 1, 2.

*darkness have seen a great light:*”—those (I say) who went forth from thence; men, mean, necessitous, illiterate in speech, and poor in circumstances; those very fishermen He said, should be the light of the world; and this promise He confirmed by deed; (namely), that this same Simon who was called Cephas, (and) who went forth from Capernaum which is a village of Galilee,—should enlighten many souls of men with the light of the knowledge of God; and should himself become known throughout the whole creation, even to the regions of the West: and, that even to this time, his memory should be more celebrated among the Romans, than that of those of former times, so that he should be considered worthy of an honourable sepulchre in the very front of their city; and, that great multitudes of the Roman Empire should run to it, as to a great asylum and temple of God. How then, Does not the truth bear testimony to Him, who said to his Disciples, “*Ye are the light of the world?*” So again, the name of John the son of Zebedee also,—who (was engaged) in fishing with his father and brethren, and mending the net, whom He (Jesus) saw, and considered worthy both of this call and promise,—arose (as the Sun) throughout the whole creation; and whose words have, through the Gospel which was delivered by him, also enlightened the souls of men!—which has been translated into all languages, both of the Greeks and Barbarians, and is daily preached in the ears of all nations! And more particularly, the sepulchre of this (Disciple) which is in Ephesus of Asia, does glorious honour to his death, and shews to the world the memorial of that light which cannot be hidden. In like manner also, the writings of the apostle Paul are preached throughout the whole creation, and they enlighten the souls of men. The martyrdom of his death, and the sepulchre which (is erected) over him, are, even to this day, greatly and abundantly honoured in the city of Rome. And, What need is there we should say, that the mode of life set up by means of the Disciples of our Saviour throughout the whole creation,—like the exhibition of a banner of victory,—is as a famous city which has nothing hidden within it? but which is in authority in the midst of all other cities, (and) according to the enunciation of our

Saviour, "*Is like to a city placed upon a hill?*" And this is the very word, which they preached respecting their master. It was not, as (if) hidden under a bushel, or given up to error and darkness; but, as upon a lofty candlestick, and lifted up to an exalted eminence, and giving light to all that were in the house of the whole world! And this, (viz.) "*Let your light so shine before men,*" evinced (both) foreknowledge and prophecy; not precept only, but also intimation of what should come to pass. He fully too named them all (here), the light when He said, "*YE are the light of the world.*" Not, that they were many lights; but, that they all together (constituted) one light: as if from an equality<sup>1</sup> of them all, there should be at once an arising (of light as of the Sun) to the whole world. For, it was His alone to say, "*I AM the light of the world.*" And of Him it has been truly said, that "*He<sup>3</sup> is the light that came into the world, which enlighteneth every man.*" But, since these things have been thus foretold, and fulfilled; observe how He again spoke of, and explained, them to His Disciples: "*That<sup>4</sup> which I say to you in darkness, speak ye in the light; and, that which ye hear in your ears, preach ye on the housetops. And fear not those who kill the body, but cannot kill the soul. But fear ye Him rather, who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell.*" He also promised by these things, in the very beginnings (of the ministration) of His Disciples,—when they knew nothing of them, but were as if they had been in the dark,—the knowledge of the light. He prophesied also, to those (then) hearing His precepts, that they should preach openly to all men that which was (now) secret, in darkness, and invisible. He taught them too, not to be perplexed, but to suffer affliction with all

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<sup>1</sup> If it should be imagined, that Eusebius intended above to assign any preeminence to Peter in the work of evangelizing the world, this place would be sufficient to correct any such notion. Peter was, as the primary Apostle of the Gentiles, very highly honoured: it was Paul nevertheless, who, after his conversion, became the most abundant labourer of them all.

<sup>2</sup> John viii. 12, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. i. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. x. 27, 28.

their soul; to preach Him in the ears of all; and not to fear those, who would kill the mortal body: the soul not being subject to loss of life by men, because it is incorporeal and immortal. For it is God only, who is able to inflict punishment and death, at once on both body and soul. It may be observed therefore, that He taught by these things, that the soul is incorporeal; and set up, in a few words, the ordinances of (true) philosophy,—

*In that He foretold at the outset<sup>5</sup> to His Disciples, that He would make them Fishers of men; and, that they should eventually, openly, immediately, (and) through His power, make Disciples of all nations. From the Gospel of Matthew<sup>6</sup>.*

8. After his resurrection from the dead, all of them,—being together as they had been commanded,—went to Galilee, as He had said to them. But, when they saw Him, some worshipped Him, but others doubted. But He drew near to them, spoke with them, and said: “*All power (both) in heaven and earth, is given to me of my Father. Go ye and make Disciples of all nations, and baptize them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And teach them to observe all that I have commanded you. And, behold! I am with you always even to the end of the world.*” Observe now, in these things, the consideration and caution evinced by the Disciples: (viz.) that they did not all worship Him when they saw Him. Some of them indeed did this faithfully and devotedly, but others refrained for the present. It was not easily and suddenly, that they gave in to this miracle; but, it was after much investigation and with every caution they were so at last persuaded, that they went out to all mankind. They became too, the Preachers of His

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<sup>5</sup> The Syriac reads here, ܡܫܘܥܐ, which, I am inclined to think, should be, ܡܫܘܥܐ, by promise: still that gives a very suitable sense.

<sup>6</sup> Matt. xxviii. 18, to the end. The differences from the Peschito are slight, and such as to shew, as before, that the Translator having the words of the Peschito in his mind, rather translated afresh than followed it literally.—All these headings following are, in the MS. given as Rubrics.

Resurrection: because it had prophetically said in the Scriptures of the Prophets, in His Person, “*Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and (for thy) possessions, the uttermost parts of the earth*”<sup>1</sup>. Just as the testimony of this prophecy has now been fulfilled in fact, He said to His Disciples; “*All power is given to me, as in heaven, so in earth.*” For, He had possessed the sovereignty of the things which are in heaven from eternity<sup>2</sup>; but now, He said was given to Him, by His Father, those upon earth, in conformity with this (viz.) “*Ask of me, and I will give thee the nations for thy possession.*” For, from ancient times,—as Moses attests,—“*The most High, when dividing the nations, appointed the boundary of the people, according to the number of the angels*”<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ps. ii. 8. Cited also, Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. x. p. 162. D.

<sup>2</sup> I do not see how this could come out of the mouth of an Arian.

<sup>3</sup> The place here referred to is Deut. xxxii. 8, as given in the Version of the Septuagint: where we have, “*κατα ἀριθμον ἀγγελων Θεοῦ.*” Out of this seems to have originated the notion of Angels presiding over the several regions of the Earth: and, thence, among the heathen, of *Demons* doing this: a notion prevailing far and wide in the East at this very day. The Hebrew has here, “*Children of Israel;*” whence the notion among the Jews, that there were 72 nations on the earth, and as many languages; because this was the number supposed to have gone down with Jacob into Egypt. The whole however, is a gross mistake, which has arisen out of a false interpretation of the Hebrew term *רשדד*, signifying *enumeration*, as well as *number*. The sense of the place will then be, *according to the enumeration, (account or statement) of the children of Israel: i. e. as found in their Scriptures.* This Scripture is also quoted, Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iv. cap. vii; but the reasoning differs. See also ib. cap. x. p. 163. See also Origen contra Cels. Lib. v. p. 250, &c. An extract is given from the *Theophania*, in the “*Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio,*” Tom. viii. p. 91, by Signior Angelo Mai in these words: “*Εὐσεβίου β της θεοφανείας.*” “*Ἐβδομηκοντα δε ἀνεδεικνυ μαθητας, οποσα λέγεται καθ’ ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἔθνη τυγχάνειν· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Μωσέως δηλοῖ γραφῆ τὸν κατάλογον ποιουμένη τῶν μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν τοῦ Νωε γενομένων παίδων· ἐξ ὧν τοὺς πάντας ἔβδομηκοντα φῦναι οὓς προπάτορας τῶν καθ’ ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἔθλων λόγος ἀληθῆς γεγονέναι κατέχει.*” If this extract belongs to any part of this work, it must, I suppose, be to this; as I know of no other place at all like it. From the letter β being attached to the extract, one

So that the Angels of God were, from ancient times, Rulers over all that was on the earth. But, when mankind had been perverted to the error of many Gods, and the Angels, who were the Rulers, were unable to afford any remedy for this; the common Saviour of all Himself taught, by means of His Divine manifestation, and after His victory over Death, that the empire of the nations upon earth, should no more be given by his Father to the Angels, but to Himself. And on this account, He commanded his Disciples,—not from ancient times—but now, that they should make the circuit, and make Disciples, of all nations. And He necessarily added the mystery of cleansing<sup>4</sup>. For it was necessary to those, who should be converted from among the heathen, that they should be cleansed by His power from every pollution and uncleanness; because they had been defiled by the error of Demons, and had been holden by the worship of Idols, and by uncleanness of every sort, but had now first been changed from that life of abomination, and of lawless practices. These very persons then, did He direct to teach,—after this cleansing, which is by the mystery of His doctrine,—not, that they should observe the precepts of the Jews, nor yet the Law of Moses, but all those which He commanded them to observe. And these

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would imagine that the *second* Book was meant; but certainly, our second Book contains no such matter. All I can see in it, I must confess, is, that the writer of the Codex mentioned by Signior Mai only intended to give a sort of Comment on this place of the Theophania, and one which seems to have come originally from the Jews: it being much of a piece with the traditionary nonsense entertained by that people, but quite foreign to the manner of Eusebius, who never indulges in cabbalistic reasoning of this sort. Nor is the Signior (now Cardinal) correct when he says:—“*Theophania*, seu publica Christi vita, (Luc. cap. 3)”: neither the term, nor the contents of the work, nor the Scripture cited, justifying such an assertion. Nor does the word *ἀνεφάνη*, referred to, even hint at the existence of this work. All the passage in the Chronicon intends evidently is, that our Lord *appeared* (*ἀνεφάνη*) in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar. The Cardinal tells us moreover, that he has discovered xviii. other fragments of this work, which he has printed in the second edition of his first volume. But this edition I have not yet been able to find in this country; I can say nothing therefore about these extracts.

<sup>4</sup> Syr. [ܐܘܨܘܪܐܘܢܐ], by which he means *Baptism*.

are those which the whole of the Disciples,—making severally the circuit of all the nations,—equally delivered to every Church throughout the whole creation. He necessarily therefore, stirred them up, and made them readily to confide,—to undertake the circuit of all nations, and to make Disciples of all races of men, through the promise by which He counselled them, saying: “*Behold, I myself am with you.*” To this word of promise, He also superadded the performance. He was present in the Divine Power with each and every one of them; to the whole of them was He at once present, and with them He acted and wrought. He confirmed too, even to victory, (the promise) constituting them Teachers to all nations, of that fear of God<sup>1</sup> which was delivered by Himself. In this promise therefore, they trusted; and forthwith, did they fulfil His words by deeds: nor did they in any thing hesitate; but they (so) went forth with all readiness to the disciplining of all nations, that they engaged in the work. With their eyes they had seen Him who was a little while before dead, then living: and, Him whom they had denied with cursing,—on account of what then happened to them,—they had seen openly, present, and in his own person; and, as His custom was, He had conversed with them, and promised them the things of which we have already spoken. Nor could they disbelieve His promises, because of His appearing (to them); which (appearing) they had investigated. Now in this precept, there must have been (much) that was discouraging to them, knowing as they did in themselves the rusticity and illiterate character which they sustained; on account of which, they might indeed have sought to be excused, and have well imagined it impossible that those, whose Language was the Syriac (only), and who knew nothing beyond the art of catching fish, could be Teachers both of the Greeks and Romans, of the Egyptians also, the Persians, and the rest of the barbarous nations: and set about to legislate,—in opposition to all other Legislators and Kings throughout the whole crea-

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<sup>1</sup> A very common term, used to designate the true religion: it is also frequently used in the Hebrew Bible in this sense.

<sup>2</sup> Alluding to the denial of Peter. Matt. xxvi. 74.

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remission of the former sins of the soul. And such was the entire superiority which they evinced, that, even to these our times, the doctrine of these poor and illiterate men, is in active operation throughout the whole creation of man.

*How His acts should be heard, and preached of, throughout the whole world.* From the Gospel of Matthew and of Mark.

10. When our Saviour was in Bethany, a village not far from Jerusalem;—having been invited by one who was (named) Simon, and sitting down there;—a certain woman took an alabaster box of balsam (ointment), which was very precious, and came and poured it out upon his feet: but His Disciples forbade her; complaining of what had happened. But He received the thing done as a sign, and intimated that this act should be preached of, and heard, throughout the whole world. He prophesied accordingly, and said: “*I say unto you, that wheresoever this my Gospel shall<sup>3</sup> be preached in the whole world, what this (woman) hath done, shall also be spoken of for a memorial of her<sup>4</sup>.*” Now these things He foretold, when, at that time, the writing of the Gospel had yet entered into the mind of none, nor had it come to the hearing of any. Nor, as it is likely, had what was then done, been learned by any who resided in the neighbourhood, but by those only who were present. Nevertheless, He left this whole enunciation in word, and prophesied that the Gospels, which should be written by His Disciples, should be preached throughout the whole world. And to the word He at once also superadded the deed, and said, that with His acts should be written in the Gospel, and spoken of throughout the whole world, even that which had been done by this woman, for a memorial of her:—which same thing has (now) been seen confirmed by Him in very deed! For there is neither people, region, nor place, in which the memorial of this woman, as recorded in the Gospel, has not been mentioned; and, together, with the doctrine respecting Him, is it preached throughout the

<sup>3</sup> Syr. ܘܠܥܘܠܡ.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. xxvi. 13, &c. cited by Theodoret. Gr. affect. curat. Ed. Gaisford, p. 448. Chrysost. Hom. Matt. 81. Edit. Montf. Tom. vii. p. 765.





given concerning Himself; that it should be made firm as on a confirmed foundation; and that His Church should be built, solely by means of His own power which is everlasting, and that the gates of Hell should never overcome it. He himself afforded a proof (of this) in the fulfilment, better than any (that) words (can give). For innumerable persecutions, and many forms of death, have sprung up against His Church, but in nothing could they prevail against it. He has therefore, openly confirmed the enunciation of His prediction, by deeds; its truth He has shewn, by the fulfilment. The Church too, which He called the congregation, about to be set up in His name, evinced no small foreknowledge: for the congregations of the Jews had been termed *Synagogues*; and, during the time of His going about among men, He frequented the Synagogue of the Jews. Nor was there hitherto, so much as one Synagogue only, set apart to Him. And, Who is not astonished, that He so foreknew those congregations which should afterwards be set up, at a great distance of time, in His name, and, that He should not name them, after the Jewish custom, *Synagogues*, but *Churches*? He added too, that the gate-bars of Hell should not prevail against them:—things, which we perceive with our own eyes! Nor should we wonder at the prediction only, but also at His promise, namely, “*I build my Church upon the rock, and the gate-bars of Hell shall not prevail against it:*” which is (all) so brought near in fact, that we can see it! For it was not by the power of men, nor yet by the superiority of the Teachers (employed), that His Church was raised; but, it was He who promised, and in deed fulfilled His promise! —He (I say) who up to this time has, by the Divine Power, built up, and enlarged, His Church throughout the whole creation of man!

*On the divisions which are in Houses and Families up to this time, on account of His doctrine. From the Gospel of Matthew.*

12. <sup>1</sup> *Think not, that I am come to send forth peace upon earth: I am not come to send forth peace, but a sword. For I am come to divide a man against his Father,*

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<sup>1</sup> Matt. x. 34. seq.

*and the Daughter against her Mother, and the Daughter in law against her Mother in law : and the enemies of a man (shall be) those of his own house. (Or), as Luke enounced (it) ; “<sup>2</sup>Think ye then, that I am come to send forth peace on earth ? I say unto you, No ; but divisions. For, there shall be henceforth five in one house, who (shall be) divided, three against two, and two against three. And the Father shall be divided against his Son, and the Son, against his Father ; and the Mother shall be divided against her Daughter, and the Daughter, against her Mother ; and the Mother in law, against her Daughter in law ; and the Daughter in law, against her Mother in law.”* And, Who is not astonished, that the things which should take place in every individual house, in times far removed (from those of the prediction), and even up to this time, did not remain hidden to the foreknowledœ of our Saviour ? For He foretold to His disciples, the things which up to this time are taking place, just as one present to the things themselves, and making the circuit of the dwellings of all the children of men :—things which hitherto have not existed, nor did they at the period in which He enounced these words. Nor, were there yet any such doings ; they were then heard only in the ear. But now, that the prediction has in fact come to its completion, and is visible to the eyes, How can any one, who would think justly, but confess that they are in truth the words of God ? And again in these things also,—“*For I am come to divide and to send forth a sword, and divisions among the children of men,*”—we likewise see with our own eyes, that no word of man, either of philosopher or prophet, whether Greek or Barbarian, ever shewed forth power such as this, that he should so hold the whole creation, that there should be divisions in every house ; that he should pass through and distinguish every race, throughout all their families ; and, that of these some should be considered as his own, and others as opposed to these ! But it was our Saviour alone, and this WORD OF GOD, who promised to do this, and He confirmed the promise, in very deed ! The cause therefore, of the divisions of soul that came to

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<sup>2</sup> Luke xii. 51. seq.



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near, he sent his servants to the husbandmen that they might bring to him the fruit. But these husbandmen seized his servants, and some of them they smote, and some they stoned, and some they killed. And again, he sent other servants, more than the former; and to these, they did in like manner. But at last, he sent his Son, and said, Surely they will reverence my Son. But these husbandmen, when they saw the Son, said among themselves: This is his heir; come let us kill him, and the inheritance will be ours. So they took him, and cast him out of the vineyard, and killed him. When therefore, the Lord of the vineyard shall come, What shall he do to those husbandmen? They say to him, he shall most miserably destroy them; and his vineyard he shall deliver to other husbandmen, who shall render him the fruits in their seasons. Jesus himself said to them, Have ye never read in the Scripture, ‘The stone which the builders rejected, has become the chief corner stone of the building: This is of the Lord, and it is a miracle in our eyes?’ Wherefore I say unto you, The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and shall be given to a people which shall render the fruits” (thereof.) And this parable is of a sort with that, which is in the Prophet Isaiah, which is (given) in this manner: “My beloved had a vineyard on the horn of a fat place. And he cultivated it, and surrounded it with a fence, and planted in it vines, and built a Tower within it. He also made a wine-press in it. And he expected that it would produce grapes; but it produced wild grapes<sup>1</sup>.” But this that is in the Prophet, accuses the vineyard; which he thus interprets, as to who was (really) intended, when he says, “For the vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house that is in Israel, and the men of Judah are (His) one beloved plant. I looked for judgment, but there was rapine; and for righteousness, but behold, howling!”

14. The parable then, spoken by our Saviour, was so like to that of the Prophet, that it was known to point out those who were present and heard (it). But, it was not of the vineyard that it was spoken, because the Prophet

<sup>1</sup> Syr. ܠܥܘܩܘܠܐ. Castell, “ceratium, faba græca, siliqua.” Is. v. 1. seq.

had already made his prediction of this. The things however, which were not mentioned in the Prophet, He supplied in His parable: those, I say, which respected the husbandmen of the vineyard; and these were the Elders of the people, the chief Priests, the Rulers, and Doctors: those, who indeed were the cause to the whole congregation, that they should render evil fruit, and, on whose account, the vineyard itself was left to destruction. That is, the whole of their people, with their fence, was rooted up; those who formerly contended for the people, and watched over the people, together with their place. The Tower that was in it, was the Temple; the wine-press, the Altar. And all these were therefore, wholly taken away, even to their foundations; because the husbandmen had become polluted with blood; those (I say), who had openly slain the servants first and last<sup>2</sup>; those Prophets, who had, time after time, been sent unto them. The Old Testament also gives its testimony (otherwise) to this matter; and, of the Prophets, Elias who in his prayer to God says, "*Lord, they have slain thy Prophets, and broken down thy Altar: and I am left alone, and they seek to take my life*<sup>3</sup>." Of these things therefore does this Prophet, by his prayer, accuse the rulers of the Jewish people. These however, the pollution of the Prophets' blood had not satisfied, and at last they slew the Son himself, that is, *the Son of God!* Nor was it that they knew Him not; but, when they knew fully and accurately, that He was the heir! These things then, our Saviour Himself delivered by parable, respecting Himself, before His suffering. He also foretold,—by His foreknowledge, what should come to pass; (viz.) these things when walking in the Temple,—to those husbandmen of the vineyard of His times, the Chief Priests, the Doctors, and the rest of those who were at the head of the people. And much (and) openly did He, in the parable, prepare them to pronounce condemnation against themselves: asking them in the close of the parable, and saying, "*What shall the Lord of the vineyard, when He comes, do to those husbandmen?*"

<sup>2</sup> The MS. reads  $\{ \text{ } \} \circ$  here, a manifest error, for  $\{ \text{ } \} \circ$ . I have made this correction in the printed text accordingly.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Kings xix. 10—14. Rom. xi. 3.

And they, not yet understanding that it had been spoken of themselves, gave judgment against themselves, saying, "*He shall most miserably destroy them, and shall give up the vineyard to other husbandmen, who shall render to Him the fruits in their seasons.*" Jesus then said to them: "<sup>1</sup>*Have ye never read in the scriptures, The stone which the builders rejected, has become the chief corner (stone) of the building: This is from the Lord, and is a miracle in our eyes?*" Very consistently after the prediction of His death, He pointed out, from the testimony of the prophets, His own resurrection from the dead. For He had previously taught, that the Son of the Lord of the vineyard should be slain by the wicked husbandmen, and had obtained from themselves (their own) condemnation. After that, He brought this forward: "*The stone which the builders rejected, has become the chief corner (stone) of the building:*" which, in the prophecy, had been given by way of parable on His resurrection. For,—after He had been rejected by those husbandmen who were also the builders, He (I say), who was (as) a precious stone, and of whom the Prophet Isaiah says, "*Behold, I lay in Zion a choice and precious stone, the chief corner (stone) of the foundation: And he, who believeth in it, shall not be ashamed,*"—He became the chief corner (stone) of another building, of which the (divine) word has said: "<sup>3</sup>*And this is a miracle in our eyes:*" by which He meant His Church. And thus deservedly did He, according to their own judgment on themselves, repay them, saying, "*The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and shall be given to a people, that will render the fruits*" (thereof): which corresponds to this declaration (already) mentioned, (viz.) "*from them;*" that He would "*give the vineyard to other husbandmen, who should render to Him the fruits in their seasons.*" For He named the "*kingdom of God,*" those observances in which the worship of God consisted; and these He declared, should be taken away from those husbandmen: and (this) He has most openly shewn, and brought to effect;

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<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxi. 42. Mark xii. 10, 11. Luke xx. 17; comp. Acts iv. 11. 1 Pet. ii. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Is. xxviii. 16. 1 Pet. ii. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. cxviii. 22, 23.

giving (the vineyard) to another people, which does bring forth its fruits. And this is the Christian people, which does, throughout the whole creation, bring forth the fruits, that are both conformable, and suitable, to the observances of God; and shews this daily, both in words and works.

*On the rejection of the Jews at once, and the calling of the Gentiles: also on those who should unworthily be gathered into His Church; and on the end of these.*  
From the Gospel of Matthew.

15. After the Parable which has already been mentioned, the word of the Divine Scripture states, that “<sup>4</sup>When the chief Priests and Pharisees had heard His parables, they knew that He spake against themselves, and they sought to take Him: but they feared the people, because they held Him as a Prophet.” “<sup>5</sup>And Jesus answered them, and said again in a parable: The kingdom of heaven is like to a (certain) man, a king, who made a (marriage) feast for his son, and sent his servants to call those who had been bidden to the feast; but they would not come. And again, he sent out other servants, and commanded them to say to those who had been bidden: Behold, my dinner is ready, my fatted oxen are slain, and every thing is prepared for you: Come to the feast. But they disregarded and went away, One to the village (farm), and Another to (his) merchandise. But they who remained seized his servants, and abused and slew (them). And the king was enraged, and sent his army and slew those murderers, and burnt up their city. He then said to his servants, My dinner is ready, but those who were bidden were unworthy of it. Go ye out therefore, into the ways and paths, and every one that ye find, call to the feast. So those servants went out into the ways, and they brought together all they could find, (both) bad and good.” Now, in the former Parable, the Vineyard, the Tower, the Winepress, and the Husbandmen, were evil: and the servants

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<sup>4</sup> Matt. xxi. 45. seq. with a few unimportant varieties from the Peshito: and the same may be said generally of all these quotations from Scripture.

<sup>5</sup> Matt. xxii. 1—10, with some unimportant varieties from the Peshito as before.

sent, first and last, were killed. And, at last, even the Son of the Lord of the vineyard was himself slain: by which were pointed out, the People, the Temple, the Altar, and the Rulers of the Jews; and also those wicked husbandmen, who, standing at the head of the people, slew both the former and latter Prophets, and at last the Son of God Himself!

16. Now the Parable before our eyes, obviously introduces the familiar feast, and bringing together, of the Bridegroom and Bride, with a marriage-supper: and again the servants also, who are here destroyed and slain, and the former and latter persons bidden. By means of these again, He points out covertly, the things that happened after His resurrection from the dead. For the Bridegroom is, THE WORD OF GOD; the Bride, the rational soul, which is associated with Him, and receives the Divine seed that is of Him. And (this) Divine and rational association, (represents) that of His Church: and, consequent upon these things, the rational feast and marriage supper, (represent) the Divine and heavenly aliments (so prepared). He does not here speak of the inviting servants, with reference to those who were formerly sent to the vineyard, but, with reference to the latter ones. For those were the Prophets; but these, His own Apostles, who were sent forth to make the call, (and) first, of those who were of the circumcision. For, when He first sent these forth, He charged them, saying, “<sup>1</sup>*Into the way of the Gentiles go ye not; and into a city of the Samaritans enter ye not; but rather go ye to the wandering sheep of the house of Israel.*” These same persons therefore, the servants did first invite; but, when they hearkened not to the call, He sent also, the second time, many Evangelists and Preachers of the Gospel; those whom He chose, after the twelve Apostles, the seventy other Disciples, who also first preached the Gospel to the Jewish people, and called them to the feast of the New Testament. But they availed nothing, because they, who had been bidden, were busied with their merchandise; and who, after they had heard the

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<sup>1</sup> Matt. x. 5, 6.

call of the servants, abused some, and killed others. And it is in our power to find from the Scriptures, how many of the Disciples of our Saviour they afterwards killed, both in Jerusalem and in the rest of Judca. Stephen then was, in the first place, forthwith slain by them by stoning. After him, James the brother of John<sup>2</sup>. And again after them, he who first chose (to accept) the throne<sup>3</sup> of the Church of that place, James who was called the Brother of our Lord: whom, on account of his great excellence, they called “*the Just*”<sup>4</sup>. Him too, the Jews of those times killed by stoning. How they abused the Apostles by stripes, the Book of the Acts relates. And these things did He, by His divine knowledge, foretel<sup>5</sup> before they happened; He also foretold the things which should befall them from the Jews. By means of a parable too, He predicted what should come to pass before these things took place, by these expressions, (viz.) “*The king was enraged,*” at the abuse and slaughter of his servants, “*and sent his army, and slew those murderers, and burnt up their city.*” And, What can be more obvious than this foreknowledge, and the fulfilment of the things themselves (so predicted)? For the army of the Romans came soon after, and took the city, and destroyed the Temple itself by fire. And, of Whom was it, except of Him who is King of all, God over all, that it was thus said, that “*the King shall send his army, and shall slay those murderers, and shall burn up their*

<sup>2</sup> “*Ἀντιρέθη δὲ μαχαίρα ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου τετράρχου τῶν Ἰουδαίων.*” Sophronius, as cited by Fabricius, *Salut. Lux Evang.* p. 101, who shews that it was Herod Agrippa who put him to death, in the 44th year of Claudius. Acts xii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> The Syr. has ܐܘܬܘܢܐ, ܐܘܬܘܢܐ ܐܘܬܘܢܐ ܐܘܬܘܢܐ ܐܘܬܘܢܐ ܐܘܬܘܢܐ. By (ܐܘܬܘܢܐ) “*throne*” is here necessarily meant the Episcopal chair of that Church: which agrees well with the judgment which James is said to have given, Acts xv. 19; and where Peter gives his opinion, not as a Judge, but as a mere individual concerned in the question at issue. See also Fabricii *Salutaris Lux Evang.* p. 47, &c.

<sup>4</sup> *Hist. Eccl.* Euseb. Lib. ii. cap. xxiii.

<sup>5</sup> Syr. ܐܘܬܘܢܐ ܐܘܬܘܢܐ ܐܘܬܘܢܐ, where ܐܘܬܘܢܐ must have been omitted by mistake. I have therefore inserted it thus [ܐܘܬܘܢܐ] in brackets.

city?" To this very time indeed, the remnants of the conflagration which took place in various parts of the city, are obvious to the sight of those who travel thither. But, how those murderers of the Apostles were taken in the reduction (of the city), and suffered the punishment which they deserved, it is not necessary we should say, as the things which were done to them, may readily be found in the record of the Romans<sup>1</sup> by Flavius Josephus. After the slaughter of these therefore, and the reduction of the metropolis of their kingdom, they,—who remained of those servants that had first heard it said by their Lord, "*They who were first called were not worthy; but go ye out into the ways and paths, and all that ye find, call to the feast*"—performed even the thing commanded. Our Saviour said to them therefore, after His resurrection, "*Go ye and make Disciples of all nations in my name.*" And these things He said, who formerly had commanded: "*In the way of the Gentiles go ye not,*" but (enjoined) that they should preach to the Jews only. But, when these had abused (their) Inviters, then He dismissed the servants the second time, and said, "*Those that were called were not worthy. Go ye out into the ways and paths, and all that ye find call to the feast.*" And this they fulfilled in deed. They went out into the whole creation, and they preached to all nations, the divine and heavenly calling; and "*they collected together as many as they could find, (both) bad and good.*" Let no one therefore wonder, that, of those, who are collected into the Church of Christ, all are not good; but, that in the mixture together with the good, the evil will also be collected<sup>3</sup>. Nor did this escape the foreknowledge of our Saviour. And it is accordingly seen to remain in fact, in conformity with that foreknowledge: and, what the end of those will be, who are brought together unworthily in His Church, He Himself shews; for He afterwards teaches these things in the

<sup>1</sup> So styled here perhaps, because written by Josephus after he had attached himself to the Romans, and had dedicated it to the Roman Emperor.

<sup>2</sup> His History of the Jewish Wars.

<sup>3</sup> Syr. ܩܘܪܕܢܐܘܬܐ, read ܩܘܪܕܢܐܘܬܐ.

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James was put to death with stones<sup>1</sup>. And Simeon, who after James held the Episcopal chair in Jerusalem<sup>2</sup>, was given up to crucifixion, as the history reminds (us). And many others again, who were slain by the Jews, have (thus) set their seal to the foreknowledge of our Saviour. On account of all which, the judgment of God took vengeance on the generation that dared to do all this: and, upon it turned back the (just) consequence of all its deeds. For it was of that generation that their Temple and altar were rooted up, and the kingdom, which had, by tradition from their forefathers, been preserved to that very time, was dissolved. And of the same, was their freedom taken away: and, from the effects themselves it was evident, that the avenging of the blood of all the Righteous was on that generation, in conformity with the words of our Saviour. It is necessary then we should see, with what entire power, and by what sort of force, it was said, “*Behold I send to you Prophets, and Wise men.*” For (this), “*Behold I send,*” is an intimation of the power of God. And, that He called the Rulers of the Jews to their face, a “*generation of vipers,*” affords no proof of deficiency (in this respect). The prediction too, of the destruction which should overtake them, does, after all the rest, afford ample confirmation as to these declarations; and this their complete fulfilment proves<sup>3</sup>. These things are therefore sufficient (here). Let us then,

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<sup>1</sup> James the Less, called the “Brother of the Lord” in the Scripture. See Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. ii. cap. xxiii.

<sup>2</sup> According to some this was Simon Peter, others say that Simon the son of Cleopas was the person; and this is the account of Hege-sippus, as preserved by Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. Lib. iv. cap. xxii. whose words are: “*καὶ μετὰ το μαρτυρηῆσαι Ἰακωβον τον δικαιον ως και ο κυριος επι τῷ αὐτῷ λογω, παλιw ο εκ υειου αυτου συμειων ο του κλωπᾶ καθίσταται ἐπίσκοπος. ὃν προέθεντο πάντες, ὄντα ἀνεψιὸν τοῦ κυρίου δεῦτερον.*” “Postquam, inquit, Jacobus cognomento Justus martirium perinde ac Dominus pertulit, ob ejusdem doctrinæ prædicationem; rursus frater patruelis Domini Symeon Cleopæ filius, episcopus constituitur: cunctis uno consensu secundum antistitem illum renuntiantibus, eo quod cognatus Domini esset.”

<sup>3</sup> The meaning of our author is,—according to the principle formerly laid down,—that, as that prediction had been completely fulfilled, we can entertain no reasonable doubt as to other declarations then made.

now enquire accordingly, how it happened to the land which had always been precious to them, and to those glories of the metropolis of the kingdom which had been (so) famous with them; of which, by His divine foreknowledge He attested;—weeping bitterly as He did over them of his mercy,—that the whole should undergo a change to the extremes of calamity, because of the insolence of its inhabitants against Him.

*On the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem.*

18. What the end of those things should be, which had been foretold respecting the Jewish people, has (already) been said and shewn. But, as He, THE WORD OF GOD, prophesied also respecting these places themselves, it is necessary we should see His words on them. Now, when the Rulers of the Jews would not bear the purity of His Doctrine, its publication, nor His rebukes, they so acted as to rid their city of Him. He then, leaving Jerusalem, pronounced these words over their city: “<sup>4</sup> *Jerusalem, Jerusalem! that hast killed the Prophets, and stoned them that were sent unto thee, How often would I have gathered thy children together, as the hen gathereth her chickens under her wings: but ye would not. Behold! your house is left desolate. For I say unto you, that ye shall not see me henceforth until ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.*” Impurity (and) pollution afterwards marked their doings: and this was the sin in which they dared to persist against our Saviour. And it was right, not only that the Inhabitants of the city, but also the land itself,—in which they so greatly boasted,—should be made to suffer the things, which the deeds of its inhabitants deserved. And these they did suffer! For it was not long, before the Romans came against the city: and, of the inhabitants, some they killed by the law of war; others they destroyed by famine; others they led away captive; and others they persecuted. The captive<sup>5</sup> (City) and Temple they burnt, and reduced to utter deso-

<sup>4</sup> Matt. xxiii. 37. Luke xiii. 34.

<sup>5</sup> Syr. ܩܦܘܠܝܢ ܡܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܡܫܘܒܝܢ ܩܦܘܠܝܢ, lit. *and the captivity and Temple they burnt*: which must, I suppose, mean *the City*.

lation! But the things which took place afterwards, did our Saviour, from his foreknowledge as THE WORD OF GOD, foretel should come to pass, by means of those which are (now) before us. For He named the whole Jewish people, *the children of the City*; and the Temple, He styled *their House*. And thus He testified, that they should, on their own wicked account, bear the vengeance thus to be inflicted. For many times would He have gathered their children together beneath the yoke of the worship of God, just as all formerly was; even as He had from ancient times been careful for them, and had, during all ages, instructed them by one or other of the Prophets, and called them, but they would not hearken to his call;—on this account, He gave judgment against them, and said, “*Behold your house is left desolate.*” It was therefore with special care that He said, not (only) the City itself should be desolate, but the House that was within it: that is, the Temple; (and) which He was unwilling should again be called His, or yet “the House of God,” but theirs (only). He prophesied too, that it should be desolate in no other way, than as deprived of that providential care, which was formerly exerted over it: hence He said, “*Behold your house is left desolate.*” And, it is right we should wonder at the fulfilment of this prediction, since at no time did this place undergo such an entire desolation as this was. Not at the time when it was rased to its foundations by the Babylonians, on account of their great wickedness, their worshipping of Idols, and pollution in the blood of the Prophets. For seventy years was the whole period of the desolation of the place in those times: because it was not (thus) fully said to them at that time, “*Behold your House is left desolate.*” Nor was it (then so) forsaken; an event happening soon after, which dignified it with a renewal much more illustrious than its former state, as one of the Prophets had foretold: (viz.) “*The glory of this latter House shall be greater than that of the former*”<sup>1</sup>. After the enunciation therefore of our Saviour,—that they should so be *left*, and their house come, by the judgment of God, to utter desolation;—to

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<sup>1</sup> Haggai ii. 9.

those who visit these places, the sight itself affords the most complete fulfilment of the prediction. The period too has been that of many years, and (of duration) so long, as not only to be double of the desolation of seventy years,—which was that in the time of the Babylonians,—but even to surpass four times (its duration); and (thus) confirming the judgment pronounced by our Saviour. Again, on another occasion, our Saviour—walking by the side of the Temple, just mentioned, and His Disciples wondering at the building which surrounded it, and pointing out to Him the greatness and beauty of the same Temple;—returned to them answer and said, “*Behold! see ye not all these things? I say unto you, stone shall not be left here upon stone, which shall not be thrown down.*” The Scriptures do moreover shew, that the whole building and the extreme ornamenting of the Temple there, were indeed thus worthy of being considered miraculous: and, for proof (of this), there are preserved, even to this time, some remaining vestiges of these its ancient decorations. But, of these ancient things, the greatest miracle of all is, the Divine word (declaring) the foreknowledge of our Saviour, which fully enounced to those, who were wondering at the buildings (of the Temple), the judgment, that there should not be left in the place at which they were wondering, “*one stone upon another which should not be rased.*” For it was right, that this place should undergo an entire destruction and desolation, on account of the audacity of its Inhabitants; because it was the residence of impious men. And, just as the prediction was, are the results in fact remaining: the whole Temple, and its walls,—as well as those ornamented and beautiful buildings which were within it, and which exceeded all description,—have suffered desolation from that time to this! With time too, this increases: and, so has the power of THE WORD gone on destroying, that, in many places, no vestige of their foundations is now visible! which any one who desires it, may see with his own eyes<sup>2</sup>. And, should any

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<sup>2</sup> Imitated by Theodoret (Gr. affect. curat. Ed. Gaisford, p. 446.) in these words: “*του νεω δε και την ερημιαν και την εκ βαθρων καταλυσιν οι μεν τεθραμενοι φιλαλήθως ομολογήσατε, οι δε λοιποι τοις*

one say, that a few of the places are still existing; we may nevertheless, justly expect the destruction of these also, as their ruin is daily increasing: the predicting word, just mentioned, daily operating by a power which is unseen. I know too—for I have heard it from persons who interpret the passage before us differently,—that this was not said on all the buildings, except only on that place which the Disciples, when expressing their wonder upon it, pointed out to Him; for it was upon this that He spoke the predicting word. Again, the Scriptures of His Disciples which teach respecting Him, (teach) us these things (following), on the utter destruction of the place.—

*On the taking of the City.* From the Gospel of Luke.

19: “*And<sup>1</sup>, when He saw the city, He wept over it, and said, If thou hadst known, even in this day the things of thy peace.—But now, they are (so) hidden from thine eyes, that the days shall come upon thee, in which thine enemies shall surround thee, and shall press upon thee from every part of thee: and they shall utterly root thee up, and thy children within thee.*” The things, prior to these, were predicted respecting the Temple; these, which are now before us, respecting the City itself; which the Jews named the City of God, because of the Temple of God that had been built within it. Over the whole of this then, the compassionate (Saviour) wept. It was not, that He had so much pity on the buildings, nor indeed upon the land, as He had first upon the souls of its inhabitants, and (then) upon (the prospect of) their destruction. He pointed out moreover, the cause of their desolation when He said, “*If thou hadst known, even in this day, the things of thy peace:*” intimating too His own coming, which should be for the peace of the whole world. For

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διηγούμενοις πιστεύσατε· αὐτόπτης γάρ ποῦ καὶ γὰρ τῆς ἐρημίας ἐκείνης γεγένημαι.” “*Templi vero solitudinem, immo autem a fundamentis eversionem, qui e vobis eo profecti viderunt confiteantur: reliqui vero saltem narrantibus fidem habeant. Ego quidem hisce oculis vidi desertum templi locum.*”

<sup>1</sup> Luke xix. 41. seq.

this is He, of whom it was said, "*In his days shall righteousness arise (as the sun), and abundance of peace*<sup>2</sup>. He came also for this purpose, that "*He*<sup>3</sup> *might preach peace to them that were near, and to them that were afar off.*" And, of them who received Him, He said, "*Peace*<sup>4</sup> *I leave to you ; my peace give I unto you :*" the peace, which all nations who believed on Him throughout the whole creation, have received. But the people, who were of the circumcision and believed not on Him, knew not the things of their peace : and, on this account, He said afterwards, "*It is now (so) hidden from thine eyes, that the days shall come upon thee, (in which) thine enemies shall surround thee*<sup>5</sup>." The things (I say), which were therefore to take hold on them, a short time after, in the reduction (of the city) : (and), because they had no previous perception of the peace, that had been formerly preached to them, it should now be concealed from their eyes. They had therefore, no previous perception of any thing, which should afterwards befall them ; He then plainly foretold these things by His foreknowledge, and gave open intimation of the reduction (of the city), which should come upon them through the Romans, (when saying), "*The days shall come upon thee...because thou knewest not the things of thy peace.*" For, for this cause "*there shall come upon thee the days, (in which) thine enemies shall surround thee, and shall go round about thee, and shall press upon thee from every quarter of thee ; and they shall root thee out, and thy children within thee*<sup>6</sup>." In these (words) then, has been recorded the form of war which should come upon them. And, how they were fulfilled, we shall presently find from the writings of Josephus, who was himself a Jew, and descended from a tribe of the Jews ;—one of the well known and famous men among that people. At the time of the reduction (of the place), he committed to writing every thing that was done among them ; and (so) shewed, that the predictions before us were, in their facts, fulfilled.

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<sup>2</sup> Ps. lxxii. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Eph. ii. 17.

<sup>4</sup> John xiv. 27.

<sup>5</sup> Luke xix. 42, 43.

<sup>6</sup> Ib. ver. 44.



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by its own children, nor should the service of the law be established within it. And, how these things have been fulfilled, many words are not wanted (to shew); because, we can easily see with our own eyes, how the Jews are dispersed into all nations; and, how the inhabitants of that which was formerly Jerusalem,—but is now named *Ælia* by *Ælius Hadrian*,—are foreigners, and the descendants of another race. The wonder therefore of the prophecy is this, that He said of the Jews, “*they should be led captive into all nations;*” and, of the Gentiles, “*that Jerusalem should be trampled on by them.*” This miracle is then complete: the Jews being now fully (dispersed) throughout the whole creation, so that they are (found) remaining among the Ethiopians, the Scythians, and in the extremities of the earth. It is only their own city, and the place in which their worship formerly was (carried on), that they cannot enter<sup>1</sup>! But, if the city itself had been utterly desolated, and without inhabitants, men would have thought that this was the cause (of their exclusion from it). Now however, that the place is inhabited by foreigners, the descendants of a different race, and that it is not allowed to them alone even to set a foot in it, so that they cannot view even from a distance the land of their forefathers<sup>2</sup>; the things foretold of it are fulfilled, in exact accordance with the prediction: (viz). “*They shall be led captive into all nations, and Jerusalem shall be trampled on by the Gentiles.*” The manner moreover of the captivity, points out the war of which He spoke; “*For (said He) there shall be (great)<sup>3</sup> tribulation upon the land, and great wrath upon this people: and they shall fall by the edge of the sword.*” We

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<sup>1</sup> So also *Eccl. Hist. Lib. iv. cap. vi. (Edit. 1695.) p. 95. seq.* where (p. 96 B.) the words used are an echo of these: viz. “*νομου δόγματι καὶ διατάξεισι ἁδριανου, ὡς ἂν μὴ δ' ἐξ ἀπόπτου θεωροῖεν τὸ πατρῶον ἔδουφος, ἐγκελευσαμένου.*” The testimony of *Tertullian*, very much to the same effect, will be found in the *Bishop of Lincoln's* valuable work, “*The Eccles. Hist. of the second and third Centuries;*” &c. *Camb. 1826. p. 162.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ib. B.*

<sup>3</sup> The word “*great*” (Syr. ܠܘܕܝܢ) used above, is omitted here. *Luke xxi. 23, 24.*

can learn too, from the writings of Flavius Josephus, how these things took place in their localities, and how those, which had been foretold by our Saviour, were, in fact, fulfilled. He also shews plainly the fulfilment of the prediction of our Saviour, when He said, "*Woe to those that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days*<sup>4</sup>." For he has put it on record, how the women roasted their children by the fire and ate them, on account of the pressure of the famine which prevailed in the city. This famine therefore, which took place in the city, our Saviour foresaw, and counselled His Disciples that, in the reduction which was about to come upon the Jews, it was not for them to take refuge in the city as in a place guarded and preserved by God, but in which many should suffer; but, that they should depart thence, and "*flee to the mountains*;" and, that those, who should be within Judea, should give up to the Gentiles; and those, who were in its lands<sup>5</sup>, should not take refuge in it as in a fortified place. On this account He said, "*Let those who are in its borders*<sup>6</sup> *not enter into it, since these are the days of vengeance, that all may be fulfilled which has been written.*" Any one therefore, who desires it, may learn the results of these things from the writings of Josephus. And, if it is right we should lay down a few things from him in this book, by way of testimony, there is nothing that should hinder us from hearing the historian himself, who writes in this manner;—

*From the sixth Book of Josephus*<sup>7</sup>.

21. "And, How can it be necessary, that I should describe the severity<sup>8</sup> of the famine, as to things inanimate? I come then to the making known of a fact, the like of which has not been recorded, either among the Greeks, or the Barbarians: one which, it is shocking to mention, and, to the hearing, incredible. I myself indeed, would

<sup>4</sup> Luke ib. ver. 23.

<sup>5</sup> ܫܘܠܬܢܝܘܬܝܢ.

<sup>6</sup> ܫܘܠܬܢܝܘܬܝܢ. See the note at the beginning of the paragraph. Luke xxi. 21 22.

<sup>7</sup> Hudson's edition. Tom. II. Lib. VI. p. 1274, line 27.

<sup>8</sup> Syr. ܫܘܠܬܢܝܘܬܝܢ. Gr. ἀραιότητες.

gladly have left this calamity (unmentioned)—that I might not be thought by those who shall come after, to have related falsehoods,—had I not had many witnesses among those of our own times. I should indeed otherwise have rendered but a doubtful good, as to the land of my fathers, had I omitted to mention the things which it has, in fact, suffered. A certain woman, of those who resided on the other side of the Jordan,—whose name was Mirian, well known on account of her family and wealth,—took refuge with many (others) in Jerusalem, and with them was shut up (in the siege). This woman's other possessions, as they were after she left the passage (of the Jordan) and came into the city, the Tyrants seized. The residue of her treasures moreover, should it have sufficed for her daily sustenance, was invaded and seized by the attendant soldiers<sup>1</sup>. Grievous indignation therefore, took possession of her; and many times did she excite the robbers against herself, by curses and reproaches. But, when no one put her to death,—either on account of her indignation or in mercy; and she became weary of seeking sustenance for others from every quarter, and (as) suspicion was excited against her, even if she found (it): hunger, at the same time, remaining in her bowels, and indignation inflaming her more than hunger;—she took for her counsellor impetuosity and necessity, and dared to do that which was contrary to nature. She seized upon her son,—for she had a sucking infant,—and said, “Wretched (babe)! for Whom do I preserve thee in war, famine, and tumult?—that thou shouldest be a slave to the Romans? If thou shouldest indeed live happily with them, still famine precedes (this) servitude; and the seditious are cruel. Come; be thou thou to me for food; to the seditious, the vengeance;—and to the world, the tale which alone is wanting to (complete) the sufferings of the Jews! And, saying this, she at once killed her son. She then roasted him, and ate a part of him! the rest she hid, and kept<sup>2</sup>!”

<sup>1</sup> Syr. ܡܝܪܝܢ. Joseph. Gr. *δαρυσφόροι*.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. xxviii. 56, 57. “The tender and delicate woman among you, which would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground



victory! They accordingly dragged them on forthwith, unopposed, to the Temple; and viewed from the upper city, the fire that was burning within it." Nor were they pained, nor did they weep at these things! Because, "*there should be at that time great tribulation, such, that its like existed not since the beginning of the world.*" This very thing was foretold by our Saviour, which this writer attests! the whole of which was fully brought to pass<sup>1</sup> forty years afterwards, in the times of Vespasian the Roman Emperor. Our Saviour moreover, added to His predictions,—determining the time,—how long Jerusalem should be trampled on by the Gentiles; for He said, "*Until the times of the Gentiles shall be fulfilled:*" intimating by this, the end<sup>2</sup> of the world.

*Again, on the laws of the Jews, (viz.) that they should no more be observed, either on mount Gerizim, or in Jerusalem. And, on the service worthy of God, which should be set up in His Church. From the Gospel of John.*

23. On the side of this our neighbouring city Neapolis of Palestine,—which was not small, but is even (now) a city of celebrity,—a woman of Samaria drew near to Him; and, after other words, said to Him, "*Sir, I perceive that thou art a Prophet. Our fathers worshipped in this*

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<sup>1</sup> Syr. *ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ*. According to the Dictionaries, *The whole was crowned after forty years.* Nothing, I think, can be more certain—as far as the authority of this place goes, than that *ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ* here, is used in the sense of the Heb. *בְּלִדָּה*, *completed, brought to pass*, or the like.

<sup>2</sup> "*The times of the Gentiles*" must, I think, mean those times previously spoken of in the Scriptures, during which the Gentiles should retain their ancient state and power. That is, during the last part of Daniel's fourth monarchy, in which it is foretold they should have the rule. After this, during the fifth kingdom the saints are to have the rule, these therefore, must be *their* times, not, scripturally speaking, "*the times of the Gentiles.*" Our author is therefore, wrong in this place. See the Introduction to his work. He is not the only one who has taken it in this sense, as may be seen by referring to Poole's Synopsis, &c.

mountain ; but ye say, that in Jerusalem is the place where (men) ought to worship." Upon which, our Saviour returning this answer, said to her, "*Believe me woman, the hour cometh (in) which, neither in this mountain, nor in Jerusalem shall they worship the Father.*" And, after a few other things, He said : "*The hour cometh, and now is, (in) which the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth : for the Father seeketh even such as these to worship Him. God is a spirit, and it is right that those who worship Him, should worship him in spirit and in truth*<sup>3</sup>." And, by these things also, He fully proved that His foreknowledge was not small. For formerly, in the days of Tiberius the Roman Emperor,—in whose times these things were said, the Jews were particularly collected together in Jerusalem, for the observance of the precepts of their Law ; and the Samaritans, on the mount called Gerizim which they honoured, on the side of Neapolis, affirming that it was right the Law of Moses should there be observed. Now, these mounts are, as it were, anathemas of God. With both, certain parts were honoured ; and of both, the Scripture of each bears record ; that of Moses, respecting Gerizim ; and those of the Hebrew Prophets, respecting Jerusalem<sup>4</sup>. The sentence of judgment therefore, put forth in the Divine enunciation of our Saviour was, That no more, either in Jerusalem, or on mount Gerizim, should those henceforth worship, who then adhered so pertinaciously to these places : which came to pass soon after. (For), in the days of Titus Vespasian, and in the reduction which happened in those of Hadrian, both these mounts were, according to His words, desolated. That on the side of the city Neapolis, was defiled by unbecoming Images, by Idols,

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<sup>3</sup> John iv. 19—24.

<sup>4</sup> The places had here in view are Deut. xi. 29 ; xxvii. 4. seq. Josh. viii. 30. seq. The Samaritans, it appears, have introduced a large number of spurious readings into the Text of their edition of the Hebrew Pentateuch, and, among others, one ascribing a higher degree of honour to mount Gerizim, than to Hebal : for which Dr Kennicott, some years ago, considered it his duty to contend. See my Prolegomena to Mr Bagster's Polyglott Bible, Proleg. ii. sect. i. xxi. seq. where I have shewn that much relating to this controversy had not been duly understood.

by Sacrifices, and the shedding of blood, and (thus) rendered abominable. The Temple also of Jerusalem was raised to the foundations, and has remained, during the whole of the time mentioned, in utter desolation and (destruction by) burning. And, from that time and even until now, has the prediction of our Saviour been fulfilled, which declared, "*The hour cometh, (in) which neither in this mount, nor in Jerusalem shall they worship.*" He termed the time (meant) "*the hour:*" which was not yet at hand, but was about to be. And, speaking to His Disciples on the rational service to be completed by Himself, He added "*The hour cometh, and now is, that the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth.*" He necessarily added therefore here, *It "now is."* For immediately, from the very hour (in) which he said these words, (viz.) "*The true worshippers,*"—of whom He was the Head and Teacher.—His Disciples, who receive the rational service,—from Him, did perform the service of God, "*in spirit and in truth.*" But the thing, above all (others) prophesied of in these words, implies, the no more on any mount, nor in any distinct corner of the earth, but throughout the whole creation, should those "*true worshippers*" worship the God who is above all, and should present to Him the Divine services, which should be performed without blood, "*in spirit and truth.*" Not by similitude, nor by those things of which He was the antitype, as were those of Moses observed by both Jews and Samaritans, in slaughter, sacrifices, incense, fire, and many other bodily modes:—that all of these should be abolished through the things now before us, did THE Word of God here predict. He also said, henceforth "*in spirit and truth.*" That is, "*the true worshippers*" shall render to God, the service which is worthy of Him, in a manner divine and with both the soul and mind.

*On the people which should be set up out of foreign nations, by means of his teaching. From the Gospel of John*

24. "*I am the good Shepherd, and I know my own, and my own know me. Even as the Father has*

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its reduction in the days of Hadrian. And, that He was the (good) Shepherd who had been many times preached of in the words of the Prophets, it is obvious to us: the words (I say), which mention THE WORD OF GOD and teach, that He is the Shepherd of the souls of men, as of rational flocks. For it is thus said on one occasion by the Prophets: “*The Lord feedeth me (as a shepherd), and I shall lack nothing*<sup>1</sup>.” And on another; “*Shepherd of Israel look, (thou) who ledest Joseph as a flock*<sup>2</sup>:” and, on another, He introduces (one) saying, “*He is the Lord, and the Shepherd of the sheep*<sup>3</sup>.” He therefore alone, is truly declared to be the Shepherd of rational souls. For, just as the case is among men, the nature of the sheep is one, and that of the shepherd another; and, (as) the rational nature rules and leads that which is irrational; so also is it with respect to the superiority of the Shepherd (here), THE WORD OF GOD, the nature far excels that of man. We indeed are His flock, and, as compared with His power, we are less rational than any sheep. But He is in truth the good and pure Shepherd, who does not so neglect His flock, that it may be devoured by the wolves; that is to say, by the wicked demons, the corrupters of souls. This constrains us to look to His word which declared, with great power and might, “*I am the good Shepherd*;” and which also said, “*I lay down my life for my sheep*.” (This) He said in a mystery respecting His death. He also taught at the same time the cause; viz. that it was for the redemption of the souls of the rational flocks, that He (so) gave His life. And this also: “*I have other sheep*,” shews, that the Jews were not His only possession; but also, that the whole of the nations had been given to Him of His Father, according to this (declaration), “*Ask of me, and I will give thee the nations for thine inheritance*.”

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<sup>1</sup> Ps. xxiii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. lxxx. 1.

<sup>3</sup> This is no direct citation of Scripture: it is perhaps, as on a former occasion, (above p. 18, note,) the general sense only of some one or two verses. The most likely appear to me to be Is. xl. 10, 11.

*How His death was the cause of the redemption of many.*  
From the Gospel of John.

25. He was often with the Jews, because to them were known the predictions of the Prophets respecting Him. But, because the Greeks upon one occasion also approached His Disciples, desiring to see Him, it is written, that, when they had told Him this, He said: “<sup>4</sup> *The hour is come, that the Son of Man should be glorified. I say unto you, that unless the grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it will remain alone; but if it (so) die, it will bring forth much fruit.*” By these things also, He obviously declared in a mystery, that, among the Greeks, among foreign nations and the children of a different generation, those things which comprehended the praises of His Godhead should be embraced. For it was not when He was among the Jews that he said, “*His hour had come that He should be glorified,*” but, when the Greeks<sup>5</sup> drew near to Him. After this, he necessarily continued shewing of His own death, His resurrection, and of the calling of the people, among whom He then was. For, just as the grain of wheat, before it falls into the earth, remains alone<sup>6</sup>, but contains the life-producing-power, with the energies<sup>7</sup> of the seed included within it, (and) which the ears shall produce; but, after falling into the earth,—just as that which lives after death,—it will increase, and, from the power vested within it, produce many ears of corn; so did He also declare respecting Himself, that the things should be. And this indeed, the result of them has plainly evinced.

<sup>4</sup> John xii. 23, 24.

<sup>5</sup> These however were probably Hellenistic Jews; for we are told that “there were certain Greeks among them that came up *to worship at the feast.*” They might, indeed, have been proselytes: but the former supposition is the most probable.

<sup>6</sup> Syr. ܘܢܘܬܐ, is a contraction for ܘܢܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܬܐ, just as ܘܢܘܬܐ, is for ܘܢܘܬܐ ܢܘܬܐ.

<sup>7</sup> Syr. ܠܘܕܐܝܢܐ, ܠܘܕܐܝܢܐ, lit. *words, or reasons, of the seed.* The reader will bear in mind, that ܠܘܕܐܝܢܐ, has often been used, in this work, in the sense of *invigorating, efficient, cause, and the like, as derived from Him who is termed THE WORD, ܠܘܕܐܝܢܐ.* See Book 1. sect. 76. above, with the note.

For, it was not the Greeks alone who, after His death, received of His power and of the provisions of His Godhead, but also many nations. He was therefore, that seed which fell, and sprang up again, "*He who was dead, but is alive*<sup>1</sup>." He, who after His fall which was by death, increased greatly, is He who has, by His resurrection, filled the lands of the heathen, as it were cultivated fields, with the Divine unutterable power. On this account He said, "*The harvest*<sup>2</sup> *is great, but the labourers are few.*" And again, "*Lift*<sup>3</sup> *up your eyes and see the fields, that they are white for the harvest.*" These things He also foretold (figuratively), of those who should after His death establish themselves in Him, through the pure faith which is by Him; the multitude of whom should, throughout the whole creation both of Greeks and Barbarians, constitute the Church to be established in myriads of congregations;—collected together, as it were, (the produce of) rational well-cultured fields, into one place; (that is) the souls of men, into the granaries of His Church. Hence it has been said, "*He*<sup>4</sup> *whose fan is in His hand, and who will cleanse His floor, and collect the wheat into (His) treasuries: but the straw He will burn with fire unquenchable.*"

*How Simon the chief of the Disciples, should, like his Master, be given up to crucifixion, and depart this life.*  
From the Gospel of John.

26. "*My*<sup>5</sup> *children, a little while I am with you; and ye shall seek me: even as I said to the Jews, whither I go, ye cannot come; and thus also I say again unto you. Simon*<sup>6</sup> *Peter said unto Him, Whither goest Thou? And Jesus answered him: Whither I go, thou canst not now come; but, after a time, thou shalt come.*" And again, in the latter part of the book, Jesus, after his resurrection from the dead, said to Peter: "<sup>7</sup>*I say unto thee, When thou wast young, thou girdedst thy loins, and wentest whither*

<sup>1</sup> Alluding perhaps to Luke xv. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. ix. 37. Luke x. 2.

<sup>3</sup> 2 John iv. 35.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. iii. 12. Luke iii. 17.

<sup>5</sup> John xiii. 33.

<sup>6</sup> Ib. ver. 36.

<sup>7</sup> John xxi. 18, 19.

*thou wouldest ; but, when thou shalt have become old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and others shall gird thy loins for thee, and shall lead thee whither thou shalt not be willing. And these things which He said (were) to shew, by what death he should glorify God. And, when He had said this, He said to him, Follow me.”* And, Who is not astonished, that, when He said these things to His Disciples, they should be prepared and ready to adhere to Him even to death? For He did not deceive them by intimating, or promising to them, the things considered good in this life ; nor did He by any such means, allure them to give their adhesion to Him ; but, He simply foretold those obvious tortures which should, on His account, befall them. And (so) He previously shewed to Simon the mode of crucifixion, by which he afterwards closed his life in the city of Rome, in this which He said, “*When thou shalt have become old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and others shall gird thy loins for thee.*” And similarly, He also shewed mystically in this which He said, “*Whither I go, thou canst not now come ; but, after a time, thou shalt come.*” Now, these things were not said to them all, but only to Peter ; because it is he alone, who, in the Scripture, (is said) should end his life after the manner of the suffering of our Saviour.

*How He foretold to the rest of His Disciples, the persecutions which were about to arise time after time against them. From the Gospel of Matthew<sup>8</sup>.*

27. “*Beware of men, for they shall deliver you up to their Rulers, and shall scourge you in their Synagogues, and shall bring you before governours and kings for my sake, for a testimony to themselves, and to the Gentiles.*” And again<sup>9</sup>, “*Blessed are ye when they persecute you, and revile you, and say every evil (thing) against you, for my sake. Rejoice and exult, since great is your reward in heaven ; for so they persecuted the Prophets who were before you.*” Now, the wonder is this, (viz.) the additional word here saying, “*for my sake.*” For it was not sufficient, that He should only foreknow and foretel the persecutions

<sup>8</sup> Chap. x. 17.

<sup>9</sup> Chap. v. 11, 12.

which should arise against His Disciples; but, that He might also shew the cause of these, He said, *they should suffer these things for His sake*. Nor was it on account of any evil practices, nor yet for any other fault; but,—(as) He previously testified,—that every thing (of this sort) should befall them *for His sake*: which is present in the fact for our information! For if any one, during the time of the persecutions, denied only that he was a Christian, he was released from all blame and cause of accusation. But, so irreprehensible and sinless were the lives of His Disciples to be, that they should suffer every sort of calamity for no other cause, except only their confessing, and giving testimony to, Him. He did indeed, fully stir up and make them ready (for this), by comparing them with the ancient Prophets and Friends of God; *for*<sup>1</sup>, (said He), *even as they persecuted the Prophets who were before you, so shall they, without cause, drive you out; and, after the manner of the Prophets, shall ye be punished, because ye worship the God who is over all; on which account, they also persecuted the Prophets*. Now that He should foretel, that even governours and kings should be moved by these things; that the time was then at hand; that He should (so) speak with His Disciples; and that His words should so come to pass and remain in fact, How greatly does it exceed (all) wonder? For there have been many others, both Barbarians and Greeks, who have said and promised many wise things to their Disciples. Of these, some supposed that there was no God; others annihilated every consideration about Providence; and others (received) those who were thought Gods by the many: others arose (as) the leaders of vicious factions<sup>2</sup>; others (who thought), that *Rest*<sup>3</sup> was the extreme (good): and others, that *Rest* indiscriminately was; and who indeed talked just as they might be circumstanced. But never did any one of these, pre-

<sup>1</sup> A paraphrastical exposition of Matt. v. 12. Luke vi. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Syr. ܐܘܪܘܚܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ, ܐܘܪܘܚܐ. Or, it may mean, of *vicious sects*, as ܐܘܪܘܚܐ, is here evidently the Greek *τάγμα*, which is mostly used to signify a *military body*, as being set in order, r. *τάσσω*. The Second Book of our work has generally discussed these matters.

<sup>3</sup> See above, Book II. par. 19, p. 80. with the notes.

viously determine such things for His Disciples. Nor do we know of any persecutions that opposed them, such as those were that opposed the teaching of our Saviour. How then shall we not wonder, and confess, that these are indeed the words of God?—these (I say), which not only previously attested, through the Divine foreknowledge, the persecutions which should come upon His Disciples · but also, previously pointed out the cause of these, by this which He said, that *these things should happen to them, for His sake?*

*How those also who were equals should arise, and persecute each other, in the times of the persecutions. From the Gospel of Matthew<sup>4</sup>.*

28. “*The brother shall deliver his brother to death, and the father his son: and the children shall rise up against their parents, and shall cause them to be put to death. And ye shall be hated of all men for my name’s sake; but he, who shall bear even to the end, shall live.*” Now, how these things have, even to the present time, been fulfilled in fact, What need is there that we should shew at length, since these facts are superior to all report? We have seen too with our own eyes, how many things of this sort took place, both during the persecutions, and in our own times. Nor do you simply hear this, that “*the brother should deliver his brother to death;*” for even this might have been as any mere matter of opinion. But we can investigate (the case), and inform ourselves how it was, that “*the brother delivered his brother to death.*” When one surrenders himself to fraternal affection, and chooses the love of life, and denies God, and particularly with respect to his brother, whom he will solicit and persuade to worship idols; will excite and inveigle, putting forth (his) fraternal affection, so as to make him disregard the command of our Saviour; then indeed, will *the*

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<sup>4</sup> Chap. x. 21. seq. This place, as in other instances, differs slightly from the Peschito. It is cited for the same purpose by Theodoret, Græc. affect. curat. p. 446. Ed. Gaisford. We have in the heading here, in the Syriac ܩܢܝܢܝܢ, for ܩܢܝܢܝܢ, the last letter having dropped out in the process of printing.

*brother deliver up his brother to the death of his soul.* In like manner also, will the father cause his son to err (by enticing), and will persuade him to worship the idols, and (so) *deliver him to death.* So also *the children, their parents*: they will, through their affection for them, (so) lead them on, that they will choose the mortal life which now is, rather than that which is with God; and will (so) become the cause, both of the death and perdition of the soul of their parents<sup>1</sup>. And many such things as these, did we witness with our own eyes, during the times of the persecutions; so that in them was fulfilled the (prediction): “*Ye shall be hated of all men for my name’s sake.*” In this place also was this addition carefully made, teaching the Disciples that, it should not be for any hateful deed, but for *His name’s sake, they should be hated.*

*On those who should impurely collect themselves into His Church, and on the punishment that should come upon them.* From the Gospel of Matthew<sup>2</sup>.

29. “*The kingdom of heaven is like a net that fell into the sea, and collected of every sort (of fish); and, when it was full, they drew it up to the shore, and sitting down they selected those that were good, and put them into vessels; but the bad, they threw away. Thus shall it be in the end of this world: the angels shall go forth, and shall separate the evil from among the just, and shall cast them into a fiery oven: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.*” The “*net,*”—which is here (put) by a figure for the word,—and which is woven (as it were) from the various mind of the old and new Scriptures, He names His own doctrine: the fluctuating life of man, which is subject to hardship in its doings on account of the calamities attending it, “*the sea.*” Out of this (sort of) life, as from the sea, the “*net,*” so foretold, was to catch up tens of thousands. And under it were to be (taken), the various multitudes of those opposed

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<sup>1</sup> This is a far-fetched, and unnecessary, interpretation. The intention of the passage seems to be,—what indeed the commentators usually make it,—that, as there should be divisions in families, (Luke xii. 52, 53,) those who were opposed to our Lord, should betray and give up those who were His followers: a thing which in all probability took place.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. xiii. 47. seq.

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Marcion<sup>1</sup>, Valentinus<sup>2</sup>, Basilides<sup>3</sup>, and those other corrupters of souls, sprang up, (viz.) Bardesanes<sup>4</sup>, and that madman in opinion of yesterday, and of our own times, whose name became the titular badge of the Manichean<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Syr. **ܡܪܩܝܢ**. Marcion himself was a native of Pontus, and lived in the times of Anicetus the eleventh Bishop of Rome. He enlarged upon the errors of Cerdon his immediate predecessor, who had espoused and laboured to propagate the opinions of Simon Magus. Marcion was an open blasphemer of God, and corrupter of the Scriptures. He was one of those *who forbade marriage*, and urged the *abstaining from certain meats*, and in this, he seems to have agreed with the Manicheans and Saturninians: in many things with the Simonians, Basilidians, Bogomilians, Audeans, &c. This heresy had, in the times of Epiphanius, extended itself to Italy, Egypt, Palestine, Arabia, Syria, Cyprus, and Persia. See Grabe's Irenæus, p. 104, with the notes and references.

<sup>2</sup> Syr. **ܩܘܪܝܢܘܣܐ**. So called after their leader Valentinus, who came to Rome in the times of Hyginus, and lived during those of Pius, and to those of Anicetus. His doctrines had originated in Simon Magus, which he very gradually and cautiously endeavoured to introduce into the Church. For which he was eventually deprived of communion. See Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Index. It. Grabe.

<sup>3</sup> Syr. **ܒܫܝܠܝܕܝܣܐ**. So called after Basilides their leader. He was a native of Alexandria, and flourished in the times of Hadrian. He received his doctrines, which were those of Simon Magus, from Menander, in which *marriage was forbidden*, and *the abstaining from certain meats was urged*. See Grabe's Irenæus, p. 96, with the notes and Index.

<sup>4</sup> He was a native of Mesopotamia, and flourished in the times of M. Aurelius and L. Verus. He first attached himself to Valentinus; but afterwards wrote against him and his doctrines. He is said to have been a very elegant and acute writer: but he never purged himself, as it should seem, from the Gnostic heresy. See Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Lib. iv. cap. xxx. Asseman. Bible. Orient. Tom. i. p. 47, &c. as marked in the Index: particularly p. 389, note.

<sup>5</sup> Manes, (or, as the modern Persians name him, **ܡܢܝܐ**, *Māni*, the Syrians **ܡܢܝܐ** *Manni*;) was a Persian by birth, and, according to the Chronicon of Edessa (Asseman. Bibl. Orient. Tom. i. p. 393, note) was born A. D. 240. He entered Mesopotamia in A. D. 261, when he came to Archelaus Bishop of the Caschari, for the purpose of disputing on the subject of religion: but, being overcome, he secretly withdrew himself to Persia. He was there taken by the king, flayed alive, and exposed to dogs. He was strenuous in advancing the old oriental doctrine of the *two Principles, good, and bad*, among Christians; of which marked traces remain to this day among the Mohammedans of Persia, as may be seen

heresy; who all became the sources of lying and ungodly doctrine. Nor did they otherwise come to light, but as outwardly clothed with the skins of our Saviour's lambs. And He plainly styled His Disciples "*sheep*;" saying, "*My sheep hear my voice*<sup>6</sup>:" and again, "*Behold, I send you as sheep among wolves*<sup>7</sup>." Of these then they outwardly assumed the manner, while in themselves they were "*rapacious wolves*." (And), How many thousands of the sheep of our Saviour, did these Deceivers snatch away? Who, presenting their persons in form as to Christ, attached themselves to His instruction, and to the terms of the doctrines relating to His Godhead, and exhibited themselves as (His) lambs! But, that ungodly bitterness<sup>8</sup> which lay (as) in ambush within them, adhered secretly to those who had been ensnared by them. These, therefore, who were now thought to be "*sheep*," because of their (thus) drawing near (to Him), openly appeared afterwards to be "*rapacious wolves*."

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in the celebrated work of Kuleini, under the figures of *Intellect* and *Folly*, (see my Persian Controversies, p. 175, and note,) as also in the *Dabistān*, ascribed to Mohsin Fāni. He held with the Gnostics, that Christ was a mere Phantom; he put it forth that himself was the Christ, and the Comforter (Paraclete): and his twelve Disciples accordingly proscribed marriage as being of the Devil, &c. See Theodoret, Hæret. Fab. i. xxvi. Tom. iv. with the Index. Epiphanius de Mens. et Pond. as cited by Asseman. A Syriac translation of the work of Titus, Bishop of Bozra, against this heresy, is to be found in the volume from which I take this work of Eusebius. All these, according to Hegesippus, as preserved by Eusebius (Eccl. Hist. Lib. iv. cap. xxii.) originated from Thebuthis, who, being mortified because not made a Bishop, set about secretly to corrupt the Church. He was of one of the seven sects then spread abroad among the Jews. Out of which also arose Simon, whence the Simonians: also Cleobius, Dositheus, Gorthus, Masbotheus; whence also Menander, Marcion, Carpocrates, Valentinus, Basilides, &c. &c. Hence also the false Christs, false Apostles, false Prophets, &c. See the notes of Valesius, Ed. 1695, p. 69. seq.

<sup>6</sup> John x. 27.

<sup>7</sup> Matt. x. 16: comp. Luke x. 3. Cited also by Theodoret, Gr. affect. curat. Ed. Gaisford, p. 446.

<sup>8</sup> Syr. |ⲗ;|ⲥ, which, I think, should be read |ⲗ;|ⲥ: the intention of our author evidently being, to give an equivalent to the "*amarum et maligni principis apostasiæ serpentis venenum*" of Irenæus, Edit. Grabe. p. 105.

And hence, our Saviour taught us previously to beware of them, when He said by way of instruction, "*By their fruits ye shall know them.*"

*How even He and His Disciples should be thought to have taken men, by means of Magicians, and of intercourse with Demons.*

31. "*The disciple is not greater than his master, nor the servant than his lord. It is sufficient for the disciple that he be as his master, and for the servant, as his lord. And, if they have called the Lord of the house Beelzebub, How much more the children of his household? Fear them not therefore, for there is nothing hidden that shall not be revealed; nor concealed that shall not be made known*<sup>1</sup>."

The Jews held that Beelzebub was an evil Demon, and prince of the Demons: they blasphemed our Saviour accordingly, (affirming) that by the power of this, He expelled the rest of the Demons from men<sup>2</sup>. But, He returned the true answer to those who thought this, which is also written among His words. He foretold too, to His Disciples, that they also should be thought to overcome men, through intercourse with Demons and Magicians: which very thing, now affirmed by the many, has sealed and confirmed the prediction of our Saviour. He also gave His testimony, that this notion, (so) ascribed to them, should come to nothing, from (the consideration) of their lives, and conduct; their purity of doctrine, and that (inculcating)

<sup>1</sup> Matt. x. 24, 25, 26. Differing slightly from the Peschito, as before. Cited partly by Theodoret, Gr. affect. curat. Ed. Gaisford, p. 447.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. ix. 34; xii. 34. Mark iii. 22. Nothing was more common, among both the Jews and heathens, than the accusation of Magic against the miraculous powers of Christ, and of His immediate followers. (See Wetstein on Matt. xii. 24.) "The Heathen," says Bingham, "...because our Saviour and his followers did many miracles, which they imputed to evil arts, and the power of magic, ... therefore generally declaimed against them as magicians, and under that character exposed them to the fury of the vulgar," &c. From the prevalence of a belief in magic still in the East, the Mohammedans strongly object to the manner in which we speak of miracles; because, say they, it might still follow, that such miracles proceeded from skill in magic. See my Persian Controversies, Camb. 1824, sect. ii. p. 191. seq. and Book v. sect. 2. below.

the worship of God. He said therefore, "*Fear them not ; for there is nothing hidden that shall not be revealed, nor concealed that shall not be made known.*" He therefore reprov'd these (Disciples), for a considerable time, because the things formerly escaping the many, had, on this account, been supposed (by them) to be incapable of publication ; as also those, belonging to the doctrines of the (true) worship of God, of being made openly known. But, His ordinances and precepts have now been made known to every man ; and He has extinguished that (injurious) opinion respecting them, (His Disciples) which had formerly been held by the many<sup>3</sup>.

*On those who should remain in complete holiness in His Church, and in the life inexperienced (in conjugal) Society.* From the Gospel of Matthew.

32. When He determined for them, that (one) should not leave his wife except in the matter of fornication<sup>4</sup>, and His Disciples said to Him, "*If the cause of a man with the wife be thus, it is not advantageous to take wives ;*" It is written, that He said upon these things, "*Every man is not sufficient for this matter, except those to whom it is given. There are eunuchs, who were thus from their mothers' womb ; and there are eunuchs, who were (made) eunuchs by men ; and there are eunuchs, who have made themselves eunuchs, for the sake of the kingdom of heaven. He who can bear (it) let him bear (it).*" It is evident from the context of the Scriptures, that there never was among men, and particularly among the Jews, any one who uttered by revelation any thing like this ; or, who did any thing like it : or that, throughout the whole creation and among all nations, whether in the cities or villages, there were multitudes, not of men (only), but also of women, who

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<sup>3</sup> This place, which is obscure, seems to me to mean this : He bore long with the ignorance of His disciples, seeing as they did His divine power, and blamed their doubting as to the ultimate results of His Gospel. The chief difficulty in the Syriac is, the introduction of the interrogative **ܐܘܢܐܢܐ**, *How?* intended apparently to have the force of a strong negative.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. xix. 9. Differing from the Peschito as before.

kept<sup>1</sup> themselves in perfect holiness, and the state of virginity, through the hope and expectation of the kingdom of heaven. We have seen in the very experiment itself, that they learned they should soon be prepared for this. The fulfilment however, of the claim to foreknowledge, was not simply (realized here); for we have seen many men, well known to us, who (actually) availed themselves of the iron (knife,) and made eunuchs of themselves for no other cause, except that of the hope of the kingdom of heaven: who neither hesitated, nor were weak<sup>2</sup> in the doctrine of our Saviour, but simply and boldly betook themselves to the thing itself<sup>3</sup>. So that the foreknowledge of our Saviour, even respecting these things, sets to its seal, that His word was in truth the word of God.

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<sup>1</sup> Syr. ܘܢܘܩܘܢܐ, against which some pious monk has written in the margin, ܘܢܘܩܘܢܐ ܘܢܘܩܘܢܐ, *see and desire*: as if this were an essential of Christianity!

<sup>2</sup> Syr. &c. ܘܢܘܩܘܢܐ ܘܢܘܩܘܢܐ ܘܢܘܩܘܢܐ, Castell had given in his Lexicon, ܘܢܘܩܘܢܐ “*imbecillitas*,” “*Ubinam, quo auctore aut exemplo?*” asks Michaelis in his edition of it.—This passage can perhaps hardly be made out, without adopting Castell’s meaning of the word. It is well known that cognate verbs do, in the sister dialects of the Hebrew, often take the sense of one another. In this case, the sense will be that of the Hebrew, ܘܢܘܩܘܢܐ, Arab. ܘܢܘܩܘܢܐ, *defecit*, &c. If it be said, that the place might be rendered thus; they delayed not, but became strong in the doctrine, &c. then, it may be asked, How is the ܘܢܘܩܘܢܐ following, to be taken? ܘܢܘܩܘܢܐ ܘܢܘܩܘܢܐ ܘܢܘܩܘܢܐ, &c. I am induced to believe therefore, that Castell is right, and that this place affords the sort of example which Michaelis required.

<sup>3</sup> It need not be supposed that our author mentions this, for the purpose of praising it: his object probably was to shew, that, as our Lord foretold this, its coming to pass—a thing most unnatural and unheard of,—was sufficient to shew His foreknowledge. In his Ecclesiastical History (Lib. vi. cap. viii.) he has mentioned this, as the daring act of an inexperienced young man, resulting from a simple and juvenile method of interpreting the passage referred to: which he says was, nevertheless, a proof of continence and of a strong faith; and this is perhaps, a main part of his object here. See also Book v. sect. 14. below.

*On the distinction of those who should not worthily receive the seed of His doctrine. From the Gospel of Matthew.*

33. When a great multitude of men had come near Him He has foretold by a parable what those should be, who should receive the seed of His doctrine, saying: “<sup>4</sup>Behold, a sower went forth to sow: and, as he sowed, some fell by the way side, and the fowls of heaven came and devoured it: and some fell on the rock, where there was not much earth, and immediately it sprang forth; and, because there was no depth of earth beneath its root, it dried up. And some fell among thorns, and the thorns sprang up, and choked it: and some fell upon good ground, and it gave forth fruit, some an hundred, some sixty, and some thirty-fold. After these things He cried out and said, *He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.*” After this also, He was asked by His Disciples, what the interpretation of the parable should be; and He taught them, saying, “*Hear ye therefore the parable of the sower. Every one that heareth the word of the kingdom, but understandeth it not,—the Evil one cometh, and snatcheth the seed out of his heart. This is that which is sown by the way side. And that which is sown upon the rock, is he who heareth the word, and with readiness receiveth it: but, not being confirmed therein, he is offended by a little affliction. And that which fell among the thorns, is he who heareth the word, but the care of the world, and the deceitfulness of riches, choke the word, and it remaineth without fruit. But that which is sown on good ground, is he who heareth the word, and understandeth it, and produceth fruit, some an hundred, some sixty, and some thirty-fold.*” Now, Whence could it have happened to human nature, not only to declare by (one’s) foreknowledge something that should come into being; but also, to determine the kinds and sorts of persons (who should), unless indeed He were truly THE WORD of God?—He (I say), who at that time (so) prophesied and taught;—of whom it is said, “*The WORD of God is lively (energetic), and more sharp and cutting than the two-edged sword, and passeth even to the parts of the*

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<sup>4</sup> Matt. xiii. 3—9.

*soul and of the body, and of the joints and marrow ; and is the Judge of the thoughts and intentions of the heart, and from whom no creature is hidden*<sup>1</sup> ? ” He well declared therefore, the distinguishing marks of those who should afterwards receive His doctrines ; and He also foretold, that those who should in impurity receive the seed of His instruction, should be of three kinds ; as should in like manner the good, who should like good ground bear much, and give great increase to the word itself. Of those corrupters of the seed too, which should fall into their souls, He declared there should be three (moving) causes : Either from the considerations of life, and the care of things not (absolutely) necessary, and from riches and pleasures, immersing (as it were) the seed sown within them, and making it resemble the seed choked by thorns : or, others not receiving it into the depth of the mind, but immediately extinguishing it when affliction overtakes them : or, the third cause may be, that the source of the destructions of the seed within them is, the surrendering of a lax and ready hearing to (men) wishing to seduce them, and to snatch away the seed that had fallen into their souls. And these same are, in no other way cut off from bearing the fruit that is of God, except as by one or other of the means just mentioned. But those who are opposed to these, and receive the seed of salvation into a soul that is pure, and a mind that is devoted, do again, as their power may be, greatly increase their fruits. He moreover assimilates the distinctions of these, to those of good and excellent lands which bring forth some thirty, some sixty, and some an hundred-fold. For such as these powers are, are those occasionally found in the souls of men. These things therefore, He prophesied on these matters. But, of the

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<sup>1</sup> Heb. iv. 12. seq. Differing considerably from the Peschito, as before. The ancients, -as it will be seen in Poole (Synopsis), generally referred this passage to Christ, just as Eusebius does here ; and, it must be confessed, the matter contained in the 13th verse, powerfully supports this view. The exegetical sense however, comes to the same under either view : for, whether we take the *word of Christ*, with the moderns ; or, the *Word, Christ*, with the ancients, the effects, here spoken of, must all be eventually referred to Him. I prefer the former view, as being the more obvious and simple.

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said to them, *No; lest, while ye gather the Tares, ye also root up the wheat with them. Let them both grow until the harvest. And at the time of harvest I will say to the reapers, Gather up first the Tares, and bind them in bundles for burning; but gather ye the wheat into the granaries*<sup>1</sup> (lit. treasuries). This same Parable too, He explained to His Disciples in the house, when they drew near to Him and said, “*Explain to us the Parable of the Tares of the field. And He answered them, and said:* <sup>2</sup>*The sower of the good seed is the Son of man; and the field is the world. (As to) the good seed, these are the children of the kingdom; and the Tares, those are the children of the wicked one; and the Enemy, who sowed them, is the Accuser. And the harvest is the end of the world, and the reapers are the Angels. Even therefore, as the Tares are gathered up, and fall into the fire; so shall it be at the end of this world. The Son of man shall send His Angels, and they shall gather out of His kingdom all offences, and those that do evil, and shall cast them into the Gehenna*<sup>3</sup> *of fire: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. And then shall the righteous shine in the kingdom of their Father. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.*” Our Saviour shewed therefore, by His explanation of the Parable<sup>4</sup>, these things (viz.), who the sower that went out to sow the seed was, and what the seed was which He cast forth, in the expressions<sup>5</sup>: “*The sower of the good seed is the Son of man; and the field is the world.*” For He usually called Himself the “*Son of man,*” on account of His going about among men<sup>6</sup>. He therefore *went forth* from

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<sup>1</sup> Matt. xiii. 24—31. Differing from the Peschito, as before.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. 36—43.

<sup>3</sup> The Greek has here κάμινον, and the Peschito ܟܘܘܘܢܝܢܝܢ, its literal translation: no MS. has γεεννα, whence it appears very likely, that Eusebius cited the passage from memory: a thing very common with the Fathers.

<sup>4</sup> The Syr. has here ܐܠܘܡܢܐ, *word*, an error of the copyist no doubt, for ܐܠܘܡܢܐ, *parable*: the same error recurs a little lower down.

<sup>5</sup> Syr. ܐܠܘܡܢܐ, as before.

<sup>6</sup> Rather, one would think, from his being *born as a man*.

within<sup>7</sup>, and came out. Where then was He *within*, but above the world? where (indeed) He existed; and in the end of the world<sup>8</sup> He *came forth*, and came down to us, who were *without* (out of) the kingdom of heaven. And with Him He brought the heavenly seed, which He sowed in the souls of men as in distinguished lands. For the Parable placed before us teaches respecting the field, as of what sort it is, into which He cast the seed; which says, “*The field is the world;*” and it shews of this field, that it belongs to none but Himself;—to Him who came forth from *the inner part of His kingdom*, to those who were “*without*” (out of it), when saying, “*the servants drew near and said to Him, “Our Lord, didst not thou sow good seed in THY field?”*” He therefore taught plainly, that even this field is His own: and this He interpreted and shewed, was the world. In the former Parable therefore, He shewed His foreknowledge as to what the distinctions of those would be, who should receive the seed into their souls; but in this, which is placed before us, the perverse doctrines and errors of the ungodly Hereticks: when not one of them had yet so established himself among men! Nevertheless, it was not unknown to Him that this should come to pass. For, as false scriptures were scattered as seed in succeeding times throughout the whole earth, with enouncements assimilated to those of His doctrine, by an opposing nature, not unlike the Tares (sown) among His pure words and life-giving doctrines<sup>9</sup>;—and there are myriads even to this time, some of whom make their boast of Manes, some of Marcion, and some of others, of those (I say) who put forth ungodly heterodoxy, and “*Tares*” (as it were), assimilated to the doctrine of our Saviour; making use of His name, and holding false books of the Gospels: but he who was the Father of these things;

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<sup>7</sup> See above, Book I. sectt. 27, 37, with the notes.

<sup>8</sup> It will be sufficient to remark here that, by the “*end of the world*” must be meant in this place,—as in very many passages of Scripture,—that period in which the old system passed away, and the new one—the Christian Church was established. But of this, more in our Introduction to this work.

<sup>9</sup> Much to the same effect, Eccles. Hist. Lib. iv. cap. xxiii. near the end.

—he who first sowed them in the souls of those who received him, was the Accuser himself: so He (our Saviour) well evinced, by the Divine power, the foreknowledge of what should come to pass; and these things He previously testified, which have been thus fulfilled in fact; and accordingly their fulfilment was, as His words (had foreshewn). As He therefore truly shewed forth these things, and as we see in the facts themselves, the fulfilment of these predictions of our Saviour; so ought we also to think, that the rest shall come to pass. And these are, “*the harvest,*” “*the end,*” and “*the angels the reapers:*” also that the Tares shall be gathered, and shall fall into the fire:—the extreme good things too of those, who shall have preserved and multiplied the living, pure, and life-giving seed; of whom it is said, “*Then shall the righteous shine as the sun, in the kingdom of their Father.*”

*On those who should falsely name themselves the Christ<sup>1</sup>.  
From the Gospel of Matthew<sup>2</sup>.*

35. “*When He sat on the mount of Olives, His Disciples drew near, saying between themselves and Him, Tell us, When shall these things be? and What is the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world? And Jesus answered them, and said, See that no man deceive you: for many shall come in my name, and shall say, I am the Christ; and shall deceive many.*” And again, after a few things He said, “<sup>3</sup>*If at that time any one say to you, the Christ is here, or there; believe ye not. For false Christs shall arise, and false Prophets, and shall give great signs and wonders, so that if it were possible they should deceive even the elect. Behold, I have foretold (it) to you<sup>4</sup>. If therefore they shall say to you, Behold, He is in the desert, go not forth; or, Behold, He is in the chamber, believe (it) not. For, as the lightning shineth from the*

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<sup>1</sup> The MS. has , *Christians*, which, from what follows, evidently ought to be,  *the Christ*.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. xxiv. 3. seq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* ver. 23—27.

<sup>4</sup> “*Behold, I have told you before,*” of the authorized version is ambiguous. I have therefore avoided this.



Moses predicted<sup>1</sup>. And he so deceived them, that they declared he was the Christ. Others again, in the times of the Apostles, named Simon Magus “*the great power of God*”<sup>2</sup>, and thought that he was the Christ. Others (thought the same) of Montanus<sup>3</sup> in Phrygia: and others again, of others, in another place. Nor did the deceivers cease. And it is necessary we should suppose, that there were many such as these; so that even from them, testimony may be had, as to the reality of our Saviour’s foreknowledge. Our Saviour taught moreover, that His glorious second coming should not again be, as it was at the first, in some one place, so that it may be supposed to be visible in some corner of the earth: and, that no one should thus think, He said, “*If any one shall say to you, Behold, the Christ is here, or is there, believe ye not.*” For opinions such as these comport by no means with Him, but with those false Christs and false Prophets. He indeed appeared once in the form of man, and in a certain district. But, of what sort his glorious second coming from heaven should be, He taught and said, “*For, as the lightning goeth forth*”<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Deut. xviii. 15, 18, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Acts viii. 10.

<sup>3</sup> He commenced his career of heresy in a village of Mysia named Ardaba, situate on the borders of Phrygia. He took to him two women, named Priscilla and Maximilla; gave out that he was the Paraclete, and that his women were Prophetesses. His sect, which was the Cataphrygian, was large, and, at one time, reckoned Tertullian among its supporters. Among other things, the dissolution of marriages and new sorts of fastings were inculcated as necessary. See Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Lib. v. capp. iii. xiv. xvi. xviii. and the notes of Valesius. See also Theodoret. Hæret. Fab. Lib. iii. cap. ii. Tom. iv. p. 227.

<sup>4</sup> As these citations were probably all made from memory, the reader must not be surprised in finding that they occasionally differ, even in the same context.—These passages would, one would think, be sufficient to satisfy those who are so intent on the personal reign of Christ on earth, that their notions are perfectly groundless. For, if He is not to be seen either *here, there*; either, in *the desert*, or in the *secret chamber*, as the false Christs were; but, whose coming was rather to be as the lightning in rapidity and effect,—as indeed was the case in the overthrow of the Jews, the spread of Christianity, and the fall of the Roman Empire; and as particularly foretold in Dan. vii. 13, 14: comp. Matt. xxiv. 24, 30; xxvi. 64. Ephes. i. 22. Col. i. 23, also Zech. ix. 14, with the preceding context from ver. 9;—then must all speculations about a per-

*from the East, and is seen even to the West; so also shall the coming of the Son of Man be."*

*On the events that should happen at the end of things.*

From the Gospel of Matthew<sup>5</sup>.

36. "Ye shall hear indeed of wars, and rumours of wars: see that ye be not moved, for it is necessary they should be; but the End is not yet. For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom. And there shall be famines and pestilences, and commotions<sup>6</sup> in divers places. And all these are the beginning of sorrows. Then shall they give you up to affliction, and shall kill you; and ye shall be hated by all nations for my name's sake." And after this He added, and said, "<sup>7</sup>Then shall many stumble, and shall betray one another, and shall hate one another. And many false prophets shall arise, and shall deceive many. And, because of the abundance of iniquity, the love of many shall wax cold. But he, who shall bear until the End, shall live. And the Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world, for the testimony of all nations; and then cometh the End." He clearly foretold also by these things, that His

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sonal reign on earth be visionary and false. Our author however, seems to understand this, as referring to our Lord's coming to judgment at the last day. If so, I have no doubt he is wrong.

<sup>5</sup> Chap. xxiv. 6—9. *ib.* ver. 10—14.

<sup>6</sup> Syr. ܩܘܝܝܢܝܘܬܝܢ, taken generally as signifying "earthquakes" in this place; but which may mean any *agitation* or *commotion*.

<sup>7</sup> Cited by Origen (*contra Cels.* Lib. ii. p. 68.), with this remark: "τίς δ' οὐ θαυμάσεται ἀναβαίνων τῷ λόγῳ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον διδάσκοντα καὶ λέγοντα...καὶ θεωρῶν κατὰ τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνου εἰρημένα κεκηρυγμένον τὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εὐαγγέλιον ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν Ἑλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις, σοφοῖς καὶ ἀνοήτοις; Πᾶσαν γὰρ φύσιν ἀνθρώπων ὁ μετὰ δυνάμεως λαληθεῖς λόγος κεκράτηκε· καὶ οὐκ ἔστι τι γένος ἰδεῖν ἀνθρώπων, ὃ ἐκπέφευγε παραδέξασθαι τὴν Ἰησοῦ διδασκαλίαν." "Quis item non mirabitur, ascendens contemplatione ad illud vaticinium cum videat juxta illam prædictionem jam prædicatum in omnibus, quæ sub cælo sunt, terris Græcorum barbarorumque tum sapientibus, tum insipientibus? Omnem enim humanam naturam vicit sermo prædicatus cum potentia, nec est videre ullum genus hominum, a quo hæc doctrina recepta non sit."

Gospel should, of necessity, first be preached in the whole creation, for the testimony of all nations, “*and then should the END come.*” For the END of the world should not come, before (the Gospel) had been preached; but, when His word should have so taken effect among all nations, that the people should be few, among whom His Gospel had not been preached; so also should the time of the END<sup>1</sup> be short (in its coming). He further teaches and

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<sup>1</sup> This argument is urged by Origen (*contra Cels. Lib. II. p. 68. Edit. Spencer*). From this reasoning of Eusebius, it is evident that he believed that *the End* had come. And in this there can be no doubt, I think, he was right; but as this involves a question very ill understood at this day, it may be right to offer a few words here, as to what is meant by the *End*. This, I think, Daniel (ix. 27.) terms the “*consummation:*” (comp. ver. 26 and vii. 26, 28,) that is, the *End* of his seventy weeks, (ib. ver. 24. seq.) when “*vision and prophecy*” should be sealed: i. e. completed. In chap. viii. 19, it is said, “*at the time appointed the End shall be.*” Again, ib. chap. 27, 28. The *End* of the matter is said to be, when the kingdom under the whole heaven shall have been given to the Saints (i. e.) the Christians: in other words, when the Kings of the earth shall have become its nursing fathers, and Queens its nursing mothers, (Is. xlix. 23.) Again, Dan. xii. 7. When the power of the holy people shall have been scattered, “*all these things shall be finished:*” i. e. when the power of the new Church shall be spread abroad far and wide, then shall the *End* of all these things be. (Comp. Is. lxii. 12. &c. Dan. viii. 24.) In Rev. x. 6, 7, which is an exact parallel of Dan. xii. 7, it is sworn by the angel, that *time shall be no longer*, and that the mystery of God, as declared by the *Prophets, shall be finished*. Now, our Lord has identified his predictions (Matt. xxiv. and Luke xxi.) with these of Daniel. In the former (ver. 14.) He says: “*then shall the END come. When ye therefore shall see the abomination...spoken of by Daniel the prophet*” (ix. 27; xii. 11.)...“*then shall be great tribulation*” (ver. 21. comp. Dan. ix. 26; xii. 1.); ver. 34, “*This generation shall not pass till all these things be,*” i. e. commenced (comp. ver. 8.). In the latter (Luke xxi. ver. 22.) “*These be the days of vengeance, that ALL THINGS which are written MAY BE FULFILLED*” (i. e. in them). That the terms, *latter days, last days, end of the world, ends of the world, the fulness of time*, refer to the times of the Apostles, and those immediately subsequent to these, the Concordance, with the parallels marked in our common Bibles, will be sufficient to shew.—But the kingdom of the saints is never to end (i. e. as far as prediction is concerned); it can therefore, have no *last days, latter days*, or the like. When any such terms are referred to the last judgment, the language is doctrinal, not prophetic. I conclude, therefore, that this *End* did come, when the persecution of Diocletian ceased: for

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that we should compose, for these also, a form (of prescription) conducing to intellectual health; it is time that we should here again present, for their use, (other) proofs of the (truth of the) Gospel, and now also recite the things, which have formerly been investigated with reference to other (objectors), as to those who will not be persuaded by the things (hitherto) said.

*The End of the Fourth Book (of Eusebius) of  
Cæsarea.*

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## BOOK V.

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### THE FIFTH BOOK (OF EUSEBIUS) OF CÆSAREA.

1. SUCH as these (then), are the proofs of the Divine manifestation of the common Saviour of all, Jesus the Christ, which have been thus far visible to the eyes, shewing forth at once the Divine words and deeds. For in ancient times, the words, of which we have already spoken, as to things which should come to pass, were simply heard; those (I say) which He prophesied to His disciples when He was near, (and) in their presence. But now, in our times, the fulfilment of these words is openly viewed in fact, with powers eclipsing that of all mortal nature. And, if men will not be persuaded of these things, we ought not to wonder: because man is accustomed so to resist the clearest things (possible,) as to dare to oppose in his assertions even the existence of an universal Providence, and thus also even to deny God Himself! And thus disingenuously, will he also contend against many other things, to which the truth (itself) bears testimony. But, as the injurious conduct of these detracts in no respect from the word, which is in (its own) nature true; so also will the wickedness of the unbelief of men, injure in no respect the evident excellency of the Godhead of our Saviour. Let us not deign therefore, even in word to attach ourselves to these. For those, whom the works of God will not persuade, the word of man will be (too) abject to move. Nevertheless, let us again take up the more vigorously, those things against such, which we formerly investigated by questions<sup>1</sup>, in proof of the Gospels. If therefore any one should, after all this, impugn the truth and dare disingenuously to affirm, that the Christ of God was not (such) as we believe He was, but was a magician, seducer, and impos-

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<sup>1</sup> Alluding to the interrogative mode of inquiry pursued in the former Books of this work.

tor; we would present to him, as an infant in mind, those things which we also formerly investigated:—

*Against those who suppose that the Christ of God was a magician and deceiver.*

2. <sup>1</sup>Let us now ask then, Whether there ever was a man heard of at any period, who (as) a magician and deceiver, was (also) a teacher of humility, meekness, purity, and of every other virtue? And, Whether it is just to call by these names, Him who would not allow, that (men) should even look upon women with evil desire? And, Whether he could be a magician, who delivered the chief philosophy by teaching His disciples, that the indigent should of their wealth adhere to Him, and that compassion and liberality should abound with them<sup>3</sup>? And, Whether He could be a magician, who forbade the assembling together of ferocious and tumultuous inhabitants, and taught them to love the retirement only, which devotes itself to the word of God? How could He,—who deterred from every species of falsehood, and commanded that men should so honour truth above all things, that they should not stand in need of a true oath, much less of a false one,—be justly named a magician<sup>4</sup>? But, What need can there be, that I should now say many

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<sup>1</sup> This place occurs also in the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. III. iii. p. 102. D. seq.—The charge of our Lord's being a magician is often advanced by Celsus, Origen contra Cels. Lib. I. pp. 7, 30, 55, &c. See sect. 16, below, and Spencer's notes on Origen contra Cels. Lib. I. p. 7, notes.

<sup>2</sup> Syr. ܣܕ ܪܥܘܢ ܪܥܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܢܐ. The meaning of which I suppose is, that he wished His followers to be, those who most felt their wants of His aid. The Syriac is probably defective here.

<sup>3</sup> Syr. ܪܥܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܢܐ. By ܪܥܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܢܐ is meant literally *the stretching out of the hand* in offering assistance. I have rendered it, therefore, by *liberality*. The Greek, however, Demonstr. Evang. Lib. III. iii. p. 102. is as follows:—“εν τῷ τοὺς φοιτηταὺς παιδεύειν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐνδέεσι κοινωνεῖν, καὶ τὸ φιλόπονον καὶ κοινωρικὸν περὶ πολλοῦ τίθεσθαι.” Our translator does not seem clearly to have apprehended the construction of τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, &c.

<sup>4</sup> The Greek adds here, “ἔστω γὰρ ὑμῶν τὸ ναί, ναί· τὸ οὐ, οὐ.” (Matt. v. 37), which is, probably, the addition of some copyist.

things (on this point,) since we may readily inform ourselves from His own words,—which have, even to this day, been preached throughout the whole earth,—what the sort of conduct was, which was disseminated by Him in the world? Every one who loves the truth will confess of Him, not only that He was neither magician nor deceiver<sup>5</sup>, but was THE WORD OF GOD in truth, and the teacher of the divine philosophy and righteousness; and<sup>6</sup> not of this common philosophy of the world;—

3. But ' the things pertaining to His form of doctrine were such as these.—Come then, let us enquire whether this His error, consisted in (any of) the many things of His teaching. Observe then, <sup>8</sup> Was it not God, the King of all, Him alone, of whom it is written that He is the cause of every good thing, that He taught and presented to His disciples? And, Do not the words of His doctrine to this very time, raise the mind of every Greek and Barbarian in existence, to the God who is supreme, to Him (I say) who is the maker of the heavens and of the earth, and of the whole world; making (them) overleap all visible nature, and every thing fabricated? Was this then His error? or, Was it, that He did not allow those to worship many gods,—to whom it had been made clear, from this worship of God only, that He could not be convicted of falsehood:—(and) who had fallen after their Head, on account of this real error? But this was not new, nor was it His word (only), but that of those Hebrews, friends of God, who arose in ancient times. And from them it was, that these recent (true) philosophers were aided in these great (performances), and gave in to their doctrines: the wise men of Greece too, glorying in the divinations of their

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<sup>5</sup> The Greek has, ἀλλά τινα θεῖον ὡς ἀληθῶς, καὶ θείας, καὶ εὐσεβῶς. Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 103. A. B.

<sup>6</sup> And here the Greek leaves us, but joins us again, ib. C., with some slight variations.

<sup>7</sup> The Syr. has ⲓⲁⲟ ⲓⲛⲓⲛ ⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲟ, which, however, ought evidently to be read ⲓⲛⲓⲛ ⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲟ: that is, not ⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲟ, but ⲓⲟⲥ · ⲙⲟ, &c. alluding perhaps to 1 Cor. ii. 6.

<sup>8</sup> Comp. also, ib. p. 106. seq.

deities, have put it thus on record of the Hebrews, that “*wisdom came to the Chaldeans alone, and the Hebrews purely worshipped the Essence of the person of God, the King of all*.”<sup>1</sup>”

4. If then those ancient friends of God,—those to whom (these) divinations have more particularly borne testimony,—did raise the act of worship (directing it) to the God who is over all; How should we confess of Him, that He was a deceiver, and not a most wonderful teacher, who has extended this worship of God—as to the things which were known only in former times to these descendants of the Heads of the Hebrew fathers,—to all mankind! And this to such a degree, that no more, as in those times, a few, and those easy to be numbered, hold the orthodox<sup>2</sup> faith respecting God; but thousands<sup>3</sup> of congregations of barbarians at once, and of those who in ancient times were perfectly savage, also of the wise, and men of Greece,—of those (I say) who now, like the prophets and just men of old, have been taught in the worship of God, solely by means of His power, and of His instruction!

5. But, let us also investigate this third (consideration). Was it then for this, that they called Him a deceiver (viz.), because He taught, that men should no more honour God with the slaughter of bulls, or with the sacrifices of irrational animals? Neither with blood and fire, nor with

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<sup>1</sup> This is also cited, (ib. p. 104. A.) thus:

“Μοῦνοι Χαλδαῖοι σοφίην λάχον, ἧσ’ ἄρ Εβραῖοι,  
 Αὐτογένεθλον ἀνακτα σεβαζόμενοι Θεὸν ἀγνῶς.”

Lat. “Solis Chaldæis sapientia contigit, atque  
 “Hebræis, qui ex se genitum, regemque Deumque  
 “Purâ mente colunt, atque unum numen adorant.”

It is cited again, Prep. Evang. Lib. ix. cap. x. p. 413. C. with the slight variation of σοφίαν, for σοφίην. Other oracles are given from Porphyry, Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iii. cap. vi. p. 134. B. C.

<sup>2</sup> Syr. ܐܘܨܘܪܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ, lit. *the right opinion of God*: which, I have no doubt, is a periphrasis of the Greek *ἡ ὀρθοδοξία ἡ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν*. See the note to the heading of sect. 34, Book iv.

<sup>3</sup> The Syriac word used here is, ܡܘܢܝܘܬܐ, lit. *myriads*: but, as it is applied very much as our word *thousand* is, to express any large indefinite number, I have occasionally so translated it.

incense, which are of the earth, because these things are of small value and earthly; and shewed that they never could comport with the nature which is immortal and incorporeal?—determined also that to keep the commandments of God, and by their means to purify both the soul and body, was more acceptable and becoming to God, than any sort of sacrifice?—inculcated too that men should be careful to become like God, both in enlightenment of mind, and in the knowledge of his worship? And, should any one of the Greeks find fault with these things, let him know that it is not to be imagined, that the things (so) received are against (even) those of His own teachers, who have put much together on this (matter,) viz.; That (men) should not suppose they honoured God by means of blood and the sacrifices of irrational animals, or by those of fire, smoke, and the fumes of fat<sup>4</sup>.

6. We know too that we are, after these things, taught by Him that the world was made; and that these Heavens, the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars, are the work of God; and that it is not right we should worship these, and not Him who is the Maker and Creator of them all. It may be well therefore for us to see, how He could have deceived men, from whom we have learned to think that this system (of things) is nothing new, but is that of the Hebrews, the ancient friends of God. Even this sentiment was also from these famous philosophers;—they delivered these same (particulars), affirming that these heavens, the sun, the moon, the stars, and the whole world, were also made by Him, who is the Creator of all things. He also taught us to believe, that the soul which we possess is immortal, and that it is in no respect like the animals that are irrational, but that (the faculties) within it resemble the powers of God. He likewise taught, that all those who were barbarian and ignorant, should (at once) make this their own, and be, and know. And, How was it, that we were not made wise by those sages among the Egyptians,

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<sup>4</sup> Abundant testimony, to this effect, is adduced, Prep. Evang. Lib. iv. capp. x. xi. &c. from Porphyry and Theophrastus; and again, Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iii. cap. iii. p. 105, &c.

or by those Greeks who made broad their foreheads<sup>1</sup>; those who said that the soul which was in man, was in no respect better in its essence than were gnats, fleas, worms, or reptiles; nor even, than the soul of the serpent, the viper, the bear, or the panther? and that swine, as to their soul, differed in no respect, (from men)?—

7. And<sup>3</sup>, that<sup>4</sup> after these things, He perseveringly admonished (men) of the judgment of God, and of the punishments and vengeance,—things from which we cannot be exempt,—which are recorded against the wicked; also, of the promises of eternal life, of the kingdom of heaven, and of the life of happiness with God, respecting the just. Whom then did He deceive? Did He not rather stimulate (men) to hasten on to virtue, because of the victories reserved for the righteous? and, to flee from, and repel from them, every vice, because of the punishments to be inflicted on the wicked? Such then, being the instructions contained in the doctrinal ordinances of our Saviour; What room does there remain for imagining, that we should suppose Him to have been a Deceiver and Magician?—But, let us also investigate these things.—

8. <sup>5</sup>When a magician associates his companions with the things of this vice, Like to what men does he make

<sup>1</sup> Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iii. cap. iii. p. 106. C. . . . “ τῶν τὰς ὀφρῶς ἀνεσπακότων; οἳ μὴδὲν κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν διαφέρειν ἀπεφήναντο ἔμπιδός τε καὶ εὐλῆς, καὶ μυίας τὴν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ψυχὴν.” . . . “ qui supercilia contracta ostentant, si nihil plane ea parte qua est, differe à culice aut vermiculo, aut musca animam humanam affirmant? Hence it should seem that the Syr. ܕܘܠܡ, —which is not found in the Lexicons,—must signify, i. q. ἔμπις, *culex*: i. e. a sort of *gnat*, or *mosquito*.

<sup>2</sup> Syr. ܕܘܠܡ, which probably should be ܕܘܠܡܐ *bears*: the former occurring before, and which I have translated “*reptiles*.” Demonstr. Evang. ib. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀφείως, καὶ ἐχίουνης, ἄρκτου τε καὶ παρδαλεως, καὶ σὺς ψυχῆς κατ’ οὐδὲν. κ. τ. λ.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. C. D. with some slight variations.

<sup>4</sup> As continued from the preceding section, and requiring ܕܘܠܡܐ ܕܘܠܡܐ, “we know that we are taught by Him,” to be thence supplied.

<sup>5</sup> Matter nearly allied to this is to be found, ib. p. 125. seq. The place, however, occurs ib. p. 126. D. where it stands thus: “ γοης, σταν

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ments, or the means of written tablets, or, indeed, any other forms allied to these; the indiscriminate use of which was in repute among the many. What then can be said against the men who had been instructed in these things, so as to cast the imputation on them, of their having been the disciples of a master who was a magician? when, behold, the association of any one among the disciples, who promised any (new) doctrine, was severely reprehended! Those men therefore both of art and science, to whom He was the cause of their (christian) instruction, fully confessed of Him, that He was much their superior (in these respects). For, even as physicians are witnesses of the goodness of the doctrine of their master; so, of geometricians, Who has assigned any other instructing heads, except geometricians? and of arithmeticians, except arithmeticians? And in like manner, of the magician, the best witnesses as to these things have been His disciples, who have (always) fully resembled their Master, and have done (as he did). But no man has ever been found, during all these years, a magician and (at the same time a) Disciple of our Saviour; when, behold, kings and governours have, during the whole of these times, made the most careful inquiries into (these) things by means of the worst of torments!

10. And thus indeed, neither was there (ever) any magician His Disciple, so as to be left free and exempt from every (sort) of condemnation; being only reduced by them (the persecuting emperors) to sacrifice<sup>1</sup>.

11. But, that our discourse may not wander from Scripture, take the proof of these things even from the writings of those primitive acquaintances and Disciples of our Saviour, (as found) in the book of their own "*Acts.*" They so wrought upon those of the Gentiles who received their doctrine, that many of these,—who formerly accused them of magic,—so entirely changed their conduct, that they boldly brought forward the abominable books which they had formerly kept secret, to them into the midst of the

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<sup>1</sup> Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 128. A., but much more full in the Greek. Our author seems to mean; No magician would have ever suffered martyrdom, as His Disciples did, because he could have experienced no difficulty in sacrificing to idols.

assemblies, and threw them into the fire in the presence of all. Hear then the statement of these things, which runs thus:—

12. “*The<sup>2</sup> greater part then of those who practised magic brought in their books, and burnt them in the presence of all men; and they reckoned their price, and it was found, that they were worth fifty thousand*” (pieces of silver).

13. Such<sup>3</sup> therefore were the Disciples of our Saviour. and such was the entire power of the word, which they put forth in their discourses with (their) hearers, that it became fixed in the depths of their souls;—were so struck and inclined, that every one took up the resolution no more to suffer those things to remain hidden, by which the many had formerly been implicated in error, but that these secret things should be brought out into the light, and that they should become witnesses against themselves, of their own former wickedness. Such also were those who became their Disciples, so pure, noble in soul, and abundant in love, that they allowed nothing impure to remain concealed within them, but, on the contrary, they gloried and exulted in their change from vice to virtue. Since<sup>4</sup> therefore, the Disciples of our Saviour were seen to be such. Must not their Master have first been much more excellent? But, if you wish to know from those who are Disciples, of what sort their Master was, you have tens of thousands of the Disciples of the precepts of our Saviour even to this time; of whom there are multitudes of congregations of men, who have armed themselves against the lusts of the nature of the body, and have accustomed themselves to preserve their minds uninjured by any of the evil passions: those (I say), who have passed their whole lives, (and) grown old in purity; and have put forth, from the provisions of His word, the most brilliant examples (to others).

14. Nor<sup>5</sup> was it that men only were in this manner (attached) to Him, and became Philosophers; but also

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<sup>2</sup> Acts xix. 19. The citation agrees neither with the Peschito, nor the Philoxenian Version; but, as before, was translated afresh from the Greek. Demonstr. Evang. ib. B. C.

<sup>3</sup> Demonstr. Evang. ib. C.

<sup>4</sup> Ib. D.

<sup>5</sup> Ib. p. 129. A. B.

tens of thousands of women throughout the whole creation; those (I say), who like Priestesses of the supreme God, attached themselves to the most exalted service, and applied themselves to the love of the wisdom which is heavenly. On the generation of the body they cast contempt, giving all care to their soul, keeping themselves in purity from every thing sordid and unclean, and extending their desires<sup>1</sup> to all holiness and to virginity<sup>2</sup>. The Greeks, indeed, sing of one shepherd who left his place for the sake of philosophy, and him they hawk about here and there. This was Democritus<sup>3</sup>. They also express their astonishment at one Crates<sup>4</sup>, who gave his possessions to his citizens. He then

<sup>1</sup> Syr. ܠܡܫܘܠܝܢ, which must either be a derivative of ܠܡܘܫܐ, or a word cognate with it. The Gr. has, ἐπιμέλειαν πεποιηκυῖαι.

<sup>2</sup> Demonstr. Evang. “τῷ παμβασιλεῖ καὶ Θεῷ τῶν ὄλων ἀνατεθείκασιν, ἀγνείαν παντελῆ καὶ παρθενίαν ἀσκήσασθαι:” which, it must be confessed, savours, to some extent, of the attachment to monastic institutions so unhappily prevalent in the days of our author.

<sup>3</sup> He was, as some think, the real originator of the Epicurean sect, and author of the doctrine of Atoms. Cicero says of him, (Tusc. Quest. Lib. v. c. xxxix.) just as Eusebius does here: “An, ni ita se res haberet, Anaxagoras, aut hic ipse Democritus, agros at patrimonia sua reliquissent; huic discendi quærendique divinæ delectationi toto se animo dedissent.” And Horace, (Epist. Lib. i. 12, 12.) speaking of him as a shepherd; “Miramur, si Democriti pecus edit agellos cultaque, dum peregre est animus sine corpore velox.” See also his life by Diogenes Laertius: whence it should seem that he was a man of most extensive erudition, having written books on Morality, Physics, Mathematics, Geometry, Astronomy, Geography, Music, Poetry, Medicine, Agriculture, Painting, Tactics, on the Sacred Literature of Babylon, Chaldean History, Navigation, &c.

<sup>4</sup> Syr. &c. ܘܨܡܐ ܥܨܐ ܠܘ ܡܘܨܐ ܘܨܐ ܠܘܨܐ. This is, no doubt, the Theban Crates whose life is given in Diogenes Laertius, (Lib. vi. segm. 85): where we have, “τουτον φησιν Ἀντισθενης εν οιαδοχαῖς θεασαμενον εν τινι τραγωδία ἠηλεφον σπυρίκιον εχοντα, καὶ τᾶλλα λυπρὸν, ἀξῆαι ἐπὶ τὴν κυνικὴν φιλοσοφίαν. ἐξαργυρισάμενόν τε τὴν οὐσίαν, (καὶ γὰρ ἦν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν) ἀθροίσαντα πρὸς τὰ ἑκατὸν διακόσια τάλαντα, τοῖς πολίταις ἀνεῖναι ταῦτα, αὐτὸν δὲ καρτερῶς οὕτω φιλοσοφεῖν, ὡς καὶ φιλήμονα τὸν κωμικὸν αὐτοῦ μεμνήσθαι, φησὶ γοῦν,

“Καὶ τοῦ θέρους μὲν εἶχεν ἰμάτιον δασύ,  
 “Ἴν' ἐγκρατῆς ἦ, τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος ῥάκος.”

took with him himself alone, and boasted in the provisions of liberty. But these counterparts of the word of our Saviour, are tens of thousands in number; nor was it one, or two (only), who sold their possessions and distributed them to the poor and needy: indeed we ourselves are witnesses, that these were even such among men; and, in the effects themselves, we have seen the righteousness of the doctrine of our Saviour. And, What need can there be that we should say, how many myriads even of the barbarians themselves, and not (of these) only, but also of the Greeks, have, by the doctrine of the words of our Saviour, been raised above every error of a plurality of gods, and have recognized and confessed the one only God, the Father and Creator of this whole world? Him (I say), whom one Plato formerly knew, but confessed that he durst not speak of Him before all men; because such power as all this of God's worship was not with him: but to these the Disciples of our Saviour it was, through the help of their Lord, easy to acknowledge Him, and to find Him (at hand as) the Father and Creator of all. To every race of men did they reveal Him, and so preached the knowledge of Him to all, throughout the whole creation, that, from their teaching, there are even to this time, among all nations, tens of thousands of congregations, not only of men, but also of women, children, slaves, and villagers! All this (then accrued to them) from this philosopher, so that

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“Hunc ait Antisthenes in successione, cum in Tragœdia quadam cerneret Telephum sportulam tenentem, ad cynicam philosophiam prorupisse, illumque patrimonio vendito, erat quippe vir nobilis, cum congregasset circiter ducenta talenta, civibus ea divisisse: adeoque constanter philosophatum esse, ut et Philemon comicus ipsius mentionem fecerit: ait nempe:

“Æstate crassum vestiebat pallium  
Sed hyeme pannum, ut temperans evaderet.”

See also Plutarch, “*De vitando ære alieno*,” p. mihi, 831. ib. p. 466. His love of liberty, ib. p. 499. Tom. II. Edit. 1620. Bruckeri Hist. Philosoph. Crit. Tom. I. p. 888, &c. The whole of this is also found in the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. III. VI. p. 129. C. Ed. 1628. Origen is, perhaps, the first among the Fathers who cites both these cases: i.e. that of Democritus and that of Crates, Contra Celsum. Lib. II. p. 84. On both, see also, notæ Hoeschelii ad Orig. ib. Edit. Spencer.

they were not wanting, not only to make Him known (as) the Maker and Creator of this whole world, but they also became his ambassadors in every place. Such were the victories of the common Saviour of all; these, the deceptions of Him who was thought to be a Deceiver<sup>1</sup>! While, behold, such alone were His Disciples and acquaintances; from whom it was (but) right, we should learn of what sort their Master was.

15. Come<sup>2</sup> then, let us again try the matter thus,— You say of Him that He was a magician; and not (only so,) but, that He was a maker of magicians. You style Him cunning, and a deceiver. How then was it, that He was the first, and the only one, who has arisen capable of this matter? Or, Is it (not) right we should, according to custom<sup>3</sup>, ascribe the cause to the Teachers<sup>4</sup>? If then He was the first and only one capable of this;—no one having taught Him, and He having never learned any thing from others, nor yet derived it from the ancients;— How is it not then incumbent on us to confess of Him, that His nature was Divine? He (I say), who without book, without precepts, and without teachers, (so) learned of Himself, and was seen to know from Himself, the Maker of all these things? when, observe, it is impossible for any one to acquire a knowledge of the art of the goldsmith, of logic, or of the primitive elements (of the world), without some one to instruct and teach him. But, if He was out of nature;—and no one ever, (so) taught of himself, came out a teacher of grammar, or of rhetoric; not having previously been taught; nor, has there been a physician, or builder, or practitioner of any other art: these things being but small, and belonging to men; but this, one might say, is of the Teacher of the whole habitable world; (viz.) that He performed the miracles recorded in the Scriptures, (and)

<sup>1</sup> Ib. p. 130. B.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. p. 130. B. C., &c.

<sup>3</sup> The Syr. has [ܕܡܢ ܫܘܠܬܐ], which I would read [ܕܡܢ ܫܘܠܬܐ], not doubting that the supernumerary points are owing to the carelessness of some copyist.

<sup>4</sup> The Greek stands thus: “*ἡ πάντας που κατα το ακολουθον εις διδασκάλους αναπέμπειν χριη τὰ αίτια;*” where our translator does not seem to have read πάντας in his copy.

whose Disciples (taught) by Himself were such ; having received nothing from the ancients, neither having had any help from those moderns who performed things not unlike what others had done, who had preceded Him ;—What other thing can we testify or confess, but that the matter is in truth Divine, and such as exceeds all human nature<sup>5</sup>?

16. But, you say of Him that He had deceiving teachers, and that neither the sciences of the Egyptians, nor those mysteries which were formerly preached among them, escaped Him: that from these He collected together (His doctrines), and that He seems to have been a man of this description<sup>6</sup>.—If then others, His superiors, appeared before Him, and were His teachers, whether in Egypt or elsewhere ; Why did not the fame of these also run forth, prior to His name among all men, just as His has done ? and, Why is not the praise of them also proclaimed, even to this time, just as His has been ? and, Who is the magician, of those who arose at any time, Barbarian or Greek, who was the teacher of such disciples ; the originator of all such laws and precepts as these are ; and has shewed forth the power of (this) the common Saviour of all ? and, of Whom has it ever been written, that He did such cures as those which have been recorded of our Saviour ?—The knowledge too of something to come to pass, with all those

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<sup>5</sup> The Mohammedans urge an argument of this sort in favour of their Prophet, from a fancied inimitability in the elegance of the Koran ; which, it is not impossible, they might originally have taken from this, or some similar Christian, work.

<sup>6</sup> Ib. p. 131. A. seq.

<sup>7</sup> This is, by no means, a supposititious case. “Celsus,” says Mr Bingham, (Antiq. Vol. I. Book I. c. ii. sect. 5.) “and others pretended that our Saviour studied magic in Egypt ; and St Austin says, it was generally believed among the heathen, that he wrote some books about magic too, which he delivered to Peter and Paul for the use of his disciples. Hence it was that Suetonius, speaking in the language of his party, calls the Christians, *Genus hominum superstitionis maleficæ, the men of magical superstition*. As Asclepiades, the judge in Prudentius, styles St Romanus the martyr, the Arch-magician. And St Ambrose observes in the Passion of St Agnes, how the people cried out against her, “away with the sorceress ! away with the enchanter !” See also the note to Book iv. sect. 31, above. Origen contra Cels. Lib. I. pp. 22, 30. Lib. II. p. 89, &c.

predictions? those too, which like these, have by their means been laid down as principles, What other has, either before, or after Him, been memorialized as having delivered? and, Who is it that has promised that he would effect those things, throughout the whole habitable world, which he had (so) predicted, and has, in fact, so confirmed His words, that, even to these our times, the fulfilment of His predictions is visible to our own eyes? And, Whose disciples and eye-witnesses of the things themselves (here had in view), have ever so sealed the truth regarding those which they attested of their Lord, by the trial of both fire and sword, as these Disciples of our Saviour have done?—who (indeed) bore the reproach of all men, for the sake of the things which they had seen and witnessed of Him, and submitted to every species of torment; while the end of their testimony respecting Him was, as that of the Son of God! How much less would magicians seal with their blood their testimonies? And, Which of the magicians, even if it ever came into his mind to set up a new people in his own name, did not only think of doing this, but also gave effect to his project? How would not this eclipse all human nature, that he should also frame laws opposed to the error of a plurality of Gods, and adverse to the ordinances of Kings, Legislators, Philosophers, Poets, and Theologians? and, that he should send these forth and shew, through the period of a long life, that they were (at once) triumphant and faultless?

17. Which<sup>1</sup> of the magicians is it, who ever projected that which our Saviour did? But, if one did so project; still he dared not to advance this. But, if one so dared; still he brought not the matter to effect. He (the Saviour) said in one word and enunciation to His Disciples, “*Go and make disciples of all nations in my name, and teach ye them every thing that I have commanded you*”<sup>2</sup>.” And the deed He made to follow the word. For thence, every race of the Greeks and Barbarians became at once, and in a short space of time, (His) Disciples: The laws too of our

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<sup>1</sup> Demonstr. Evang. p. 131. D.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. xxviii. 19—20. Cited evidently from memory.

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(magical) drugs<sup>1</sup>, who, without libations, sacrifices, and invocations of Demons, performed the rites of magic? When, behold, it is well known and clear to every one, that the whole process of magic is usually effected by these things. For, How can any one bring an accusation of this sort either against our Saviour, or against his Disciples, or against those who are, even to these times led by His doctrine? Is there a man who can bring such an accusation as this against them? Is it not evident, even to the blind, that we are prepared for every thing the reverse of these things? And that we dare to surrender up ourselves to death in an instant? but that we will not sacrifice to Demons:—that we instantly submit to be put out of life; but do not submit to be subjected to Demons! And, Who is he who knows not how delightful it is to us, that, through the name of our Saviour, (coupled) with prayers that are pure, we cast out every kind of Demon? And thus the word of our Saviour, and the doctrine which is from Him, have made us all to be greatly superior to the power which is invisible, and impervious to inquiry<sup>2</sup>; and, (such) that we are ready to be enemies and haters of the Demons, but not that we should be friends, or followers, of (their) customs; much less be subjected and obedient (to them). How then could He have been a slave to the Demons, who delivered such things as these, to those who were devoted to Himself? And, How could He have sacrificed to evil spirits? Or, How could He have called upon the Demons (as His) assistants and helpers, when all the Demons and impure spirits have been agitated, as by some torment or punishment even to this very time, at the mention of His name? (and) have departed and fled before His power, as it was the case in former times, when He conversed with men, when they could not bear to see Him; (one and) another, crying out from another place, and saying, “*What have we to do with thee, thou Son of God? Art thou come to torment us before the time?*”

<sup>1</sup> Syr. **ܕܥܫܝܢܐ ܕܥܫܝܢܐ**, for the Gr. *φαρμακείας*.

<sup>2</sup> The Greek of this occurs, *ib. D.* but has no equivalent to our Syriac,

19. Now, Is not the man whose mind is intent on magic only,—and is wholly addicted to things (thus) base,—in his character openly odious, vile, corrupt, iniquitous, ungodly, and impious? And being such, Whence, and How, can he teach others, either the things which pertain to the worship of God, or which respect purity? or, which concern the knowledge of God? or, which are on the immortality of the soul? or, which inculcate righteousness, and the judgment of God who is over all? Would he not be an ambassador of the things which are opposed to all these? persevering in those that attend on hatred, and the denial of God? and rooting up as fabulous the (doctrine of a) general providence of God? and laughing at the words which treat of virtue, and (affirm) of the soul that it is immortal? If indeed, such things as these had been witnessed (of Him), then would there have been nothing, even respecting this our (Teacher), which we could have said to the contrary<sup>3</sup>. But, if in all His words and His deeds, He was seen to call upon God who is over all, and King of all; and prepared his Disciples to be such; and, if He was Himself temperate, and a Teacher of temperance; if too, He was a doer and a preacher of righteousness, of truth, of mercy, and of every virtue; and, if He shewed forth the worship of God, the King of all; How does it indeed not follow upon these things that we should think of Him, that not one of those wonderful acts which He did was done by magic? and confess that it was, in truth, by the unseen power of God<sup>4</sup>?

20. These things then, are directed (against) those who dare, with ungodly mouths, to blaspheme against Him. But if they change and confess of Him, that He was a teacher of purity and sobriety of life, and a bringer in of the doctrine of the (true) worship of God; still, that He was no doer of those wonderful, powerful, and miraculous works which are recorded of Him, or of those divine deeds which are superior to man; and, that His Disciples

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<sup>3</sup> The Greek here, as often in other places, exceeds our Syriac text, which induces me to believe, that our work was written prior to this. Ib. p. 133. C.

<sup>4</sup> The Greek leaves us here, ib. D.



who is over all, of the providence of God, of the righteous judgment (of God,) of the soul's being immortal, of the distinction between the life of the good and the bad, and of other things of this kind, which are written in their Scripture. It was also a precept pertaining to the life of this philosophy, which He laid down for them when He said, "*Possess ye neither gold nor silver in your purses, neither scrip for the way*"<sup>5</sup>, with other similar things: but (His great precept was), that they should give up their souls, only to the providential care of the Governour of all, and not be anxious on account of want. And He so instructed them, that they should consider (His precepts) much better than those which Moses delivered to the Jews. For he laid down a law for them, —as for men to whom murder would be easy,—that they should not kill. And in like manner, that they should not commit adultery, as to men dissolute and adulterous. And again, that they should not steal, as to men to whom slavery would be suitable; and, that they should not injure, as to men who were fraudulent<sup>6</sup>. But of these, He knew that it was desirable they should stand in need of no such laws; but that this should above all things be precious in their sight, (viz.) that their soul should be subject to no (evil) passion; and that they should root up and expel from the bottom of their heart, as from its root, the germ of (every) vice; (and,) that they should be superior to wrath, and every base desire: that is to say, that they should not even be angry, because of the superiority of their soul, as being free from passion; that they should not look upon a woman with evil desire; that they should so labour against theft, that they should give of their own to them that needed; and further, that they should not glory in this, that they injured none,

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it is obvious the Disciples must be meant. In this case then, רַבֵּי should be written with ribbui, implying the plural number, and לְכָל, be taken impersonally, as it is often the case in this work.

<sup>5</sup> Matt. x. 10. Differing, as before, from the Peschito.

<sup>6</sup> This last clause is not found in the Greek, *ib.* p. 110. A., where the rest is found.

but (rather) in this, that those who wished to injure them, they bore with without anger<sup>1</sup>. But, What need is there that I should collect together all the things which He, and they, taught? He also counselled them,—together, with all these things,—that they should be so confirmed in the truth, as not to be under the necessity of giving even a true oath, much less a false one: but that they should so form their character, that in it, apart from every sort of oath, they should appear as true, and should proceed no farther than “*yea*”<sup>3</sup> (*yea*), and should in their conversation truly apply this.

22. We<sup>4</sup> may ask therefore, whether there is any thing—whatever it might be—against those who were the hearers of these things, and who forthwith arose as teachers of them to other Disciples, (out) of which we may suppose they fabricated all the things, which they attested their Master had done. And, What is there in this leading us to suppose, that they all thoroughly lied? They were, in number, the Twelve who had been chosen, and the remaining Seventy of whom it is said, that He sent them before Him, two and two, into every place and part to which He was about to go. But, there is not so much as a word that can be said of this whole company, (shewing) that they belied Him:—of men, who loved the life that was pure, and the worship of the (true) God; who cared but little for all the children of their own families; and who instead of their friends, their wives I say, their children and all belonging to them, took to the life which had no possessions; and fully gave their testimony to their Lord, as from one mouth, among all mankind.

23. This<sup>5</sup> is therefore, the leading, primary, and true reason. Let us then, also investigate that which is opposed (to it). Let Him therefore be (considered) the Teacher, and them the Disciples; and so, as it were in a relation of

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<sup>1</sup> So the Sermon on the mount, generally, Matt. v. seq.

<sup>2</sup> The Greek has, *ως μηδ' ευορκιας δεῖσθαι, πολλου δεῖ επιορκειν.*

<sup>3</sup> Matt. v. 37. The Greek however has, “*μεχρι του ναι, και του ου, χωρουντας.*”

<sup>4</sup> Ib. Demonstr. Evang. Lib. III. cap. v. p. 110. C. seq.

<sup>5</sup> Ib. D. seq.

hypothesis<sup>6</sup> that He taught none of the things already mentioned, but those opposed to them (viz.); that they should forthwith be transgressors of the Law; should act impiously, iniquitously, fraudulently, and falsely; should swear falsely, and do (many) hateful things, and if there be any other vice that can be named'. Now, all these things are wholly foreign to the doctrines of our Saviour; they are opposed (to them,) and would be the (offspring) of arrogance and impudence. Nor, are they only opposed to His words and doctrines, but also to the mode of life which has hitherto been delivered to all nations; that which is practised in all His Churches<sup>8</sup>. But, even if the matter be (wholly) false, then cannot its like be advanced; (viz.) that we should have been a race so negligent, as not even to have examined the things now before us!—Let Him then be (supposed to have been) the Teacher of every vice, and iniquity; and that the chief care was, that they should after all these things remain concealed<sup>9</sup>. And such custom is most wisely concealed under the form of a doctrine which is pure<sup>10</sup>, and putting forth a new (mode) of worship. These then, were led by such things, and by others still worse. For vice<sup>11</sup> previously ensnares, and it constitutes the teaching of itself. They would (then,) exalt their Master to a state of greatness by lying words, and spare not even one expression of falsehood; and falsely ascribe to Him every sort of miracle and wonderful work, that (men) might

<sup>6</sup> Syr. ܐܠܘܗܝܐ ܫܝܘܢܝܐ ܡܢ ܗܘܐ ܥܘܠܡܝܢ. Gr. “εἶθ’ ὡς ἐν ὑποθέσει λόγου.”

<sup>7</sup> The Greek has something more here, ib. p. 111. A.

<sup>8</sup> Our text here exceeds the Greek.

<sup>9</sup> Ib. p. 111. A.

<sup>10</sup> Syr. ܐܘܪܘܚܝܢ ܡܘܨܝܪܝܢ. Gr. σεμνῆς διδασκαλίας. We need not, therefore, suppose with Michaelis (Lex. p. 566.) that ܐܘܪܘܚܝܢ is the true reading.

<sup>11</sup> The Gr. ib. “Δια το προαλες τῆς κακίας, και αυτοδιδακτον αὐτῆς.” Lat. “Propterea videlicet quod magna est ad malitiam proclivitas.” Syr. ܐܘܪܘܚܝܢ ܡܘܨܝܪܝܢ ܥܘܠܡܝܢ ܐܘܪܘܚܝܢ ܡܘܨܝܪܝܢ. lit. *Because vice previously ensnares, and, &c. taking προαλές as if compounded of πρό and ἀλισκω: which is certainly wrong.*

wonder at them and felicitate them, that they were dignified by being the Disciples of such a Master.

24. Come then, let us now see,—if they really were such,—whether it was possible that could have been established, which they endeavoured to do for Him. For they say, that “*Evil is friendly to evil, but not to good*”<sup>1</sup>. Whence then, is this agreement in vice to be discovered in the multitudes of all these men? And, Whence this testimony respecting them (viz.), that the object of them all was in unison? And, Whence this doctrine about the Divine appointments, and the teaching of the (true) Philosophy? Whence also, the mind (intent) on the life of virtue? And, Whence the doctrine (inculcating) flight from every vice? Whence also, the knowledge and recording of precepts such as these? And, Whence the glory of the conduct and conversation which was delivered by them, throughout the whole creation of man? Whence too, all this power? Whence this courage? Whence this confidence? Whence this resignation even to death<sup>2</sup>?—But, Who would at the first, even in opinion, have had respect to the man who taught vice and bitterness,—as it is (here) said of Him,—and who promised such things? They would surely say (such were the deeds) of a Magician<sup>3</sup>. But, the Disciples of this Leader were in nothing vicious. And, Must not they have understood these things at the end of their Master? and, by what sort of Death he was affected? Why then, after such an end of shame, did they continue in these things? and affirm of Him who was then among the dead, that He was God, unless they thought it a thing of no moment, that they themselves should suffer similar things? Now, Who is it that has voluntarily and openly ever chosen punishment for the sake of nothing profitable<sup>4</sup>? For, had they been desirous of possessions, so would they also of

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<sup>1</sup> Gr. ib. B. “κακῶ δὲ κακὸν οὐ φασιν εἶναι φίλον, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ἀγαθῶ” where our translator read not *ου*, and took *κακῶ*, &c. in an abstract sense. A sentiment not unlike this occurs in Origen, *contra Cels.* Lib. 1. p. 11. “φιλη γαρ ἡ αληθεια.”

<sup>2</sup> Much here not found in the Gr. ib.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. C. with some variations.

<sup>4</sup> Ib. D. Our text exceeds the Greek considerably here.

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25. But let it be granted, that they honoured Him while He was yet with them, and had His conversation among them, and led them astray by deception, as it has been affirmed; How<sup>1</sup> was it then, that even after His death, and then much more strenuously than before, they went on calling Him God? Because, while He was yet among men, it is said that they even forsook and denied Him, at the time when His deceivers were ready (to take Him); but, after His departure from among men, they joyfully chose death, rather than relinquish the good testimony they had given respecting Him! Those (Disciples) therefore, who formerly knew no good thing of their Master, neither the life, deed, doctrine, nor work, that was worthy of praise; and, who had received no advantage from Him, except indeed vice, and the leading astray of men; How was it, that they so easily gave themselves up to death, not, because they were in any respect guilty, but because they had attested things so glorious and praise-worthy of Him; when behold, it was in the power of every one of them to live in safety, and to lead a life of comfort at home with his friends<sup>2</sup>? But, How could men, who were themselves deceived and deceiving<sup>3</sup>, submit willingly to death for another, who, as they knew with certainty, (and) better than all others, had not been in any one thing the cause of good to them, but—as men say,—the Teacher of every evil? A man endued with mind and virtue, may indeed for some noble conquest, or for some excellent person, occasionally with propriety, and even with glory, submit to death. But he, who is so base in character as to have been in pursuit only of the things of a temporal life, and the enjoyment of lusts, has never chosen death rather than life; nor has suffered severe punishment for the sake of his friends, much less for one convicted of vice. How then, could the Disciples of the (Person) mentioned,—who could not have been ignorant that He was a deceiver and magician, if He really had been such, and even retaining in

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<sup>1</sup> Gr. *ib. D.* The arguments here replied to, will generally be found in Origen *contra Cels.* Lib. II. p. 87, &c.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* p. 112. A.

<sup>3</sup> Syr. ܡܢܗܘܢܘܢ ܡܢܗܘܢܘܢ, Gr. “*πλάνοι δὲ ἄνδρες καὶ ἀπατεῶνες.*”

themselves every vice that was hateful,—have willingly undergone every species of torment and of punishment from their countrymen, on account of the testimony they had given of Him? But this is by no means, the disposition of the vicious. For<sup>4</sup> I myself have seen many, who have faithfully kept society and oath with the living; but who, as soon as these died, dissolved every compact of this sort entered into between them. And we all know accurately how the Sophists,—brought together in the cities (generally), and in glorious repute for their erudition and display of words,—load with praises the governors, and those vested with great power and rule, just so long as they retain this; but, as soon as any change (in this respect) happens to them, these also change their words; and no more will they willingly memorialize those whom they formerly did, purely from the fear of those (now) in power.

26. If<sup>5</sup> then, these Disciples of our Saviour were deceived and deceiving, I would add this also: They were unlearned, and altogether illiterate; that is, they were even barbarians, and understood no language except the Syriac. How then did they, after the departure of their Lord from among men, go forth into the whole creation, and give their testimony to His Godhead? And, by What sort of advice were they prevailed on to attempt this? By What power too, did they effect that which they undertook? It might have happened indeed, that some rustics at their own homes would be perverted and led astray. But, that they (the Disciples) should be sent forth into foreign countries, and should not relinquish their object through remissness, but should preach the name of our Saviour to every man<sup>6</sup>, together with His deeds of wonder; and not this only, but should also teach His commandments both in the villages and cities;—some of them to the Roman power (itself), and (so) apportion to themselves this city of the empire: others also, to the Persians; others, to those among the Armenians; others, to the nation of the Parthians; and again, to that also of the Scythians: (that) some of these

<sup>4</sup> Not in the Gr. ib. C.

<sup>5</sup> Ib. (Demonstr. Evang.) p. 112. C., with some variations.

<sup>6</sup> Comp. Ed. Col. i. 23, and see the note above, Book iv. par. 36.

should go forth, even as far as the extremities of the creation, and arrive at the country of the Hindoos; others pass over to the Islands beyond the ocean, and which are called Britain<sup>1</sup>;—could not, I think, have been the things of men; How much less, of those who were deficient and illiterate? How much still less, of deceivers and magicians?

27. How then could those, whose experience of their Master was, that He was vicious and a perverter,—and who had with their own eyes witnessed His departure by death,—have used such terms with each other, for this (viz.), that they should unanimously lie respecting Him? For they all attested as with one mouth, the cleansing of lepers, the casting out of Demons, the raising of the dead, (the restoring of) sight to the blind, and many other instances of cure, which were effected by Him:—

28. And<sup>3</sup> after these things, His resurrection after the death which they had previously witnessed? For, to such things, not happening, nor even being heard of in their times, How could they, with one mouth, have given testimony, and convinced (themselves) that they came to pass? and have continued to place faith in (this) their testimony, even to death? Was it, either that they were brought together, and that they swore to do this? and that they entered into compact with one another, to fabricate, and falsely to put forth, things which never came to pass? And shall we say, that they used terms to this effect as the pretence for such compact? or, such as these? Men, our friends!—Him who was, (as it were) yesterday or the day before, a Deceiver and Teacher of error,—who suffered extreme punishment before the eyes of us all,—we know better and more accurately than any other, how far He excelled, because we were the Disciples<sup>4</sup> of His secret mysteries. He appeared as pure to the many, and thought that He possessed something better than the many. But

<sup>1</sup> Syr. ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܩܝܡܐܘܬܐ, see above, Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 112. D. Gr. “*τας καλουμενας βρεττανικας νησους.*”

<sup>2</sup> Ib. p. 113. A.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. p. 113. B., with some varieties.

<sup>4</sup> Syr. ܘܝܘܘܬܐ, lit. children. Gr. “*μύσται τῶν ἀπορρήτων αὐτοῦ γεγενημένοι.*” ib. B.

He possessed nothing great, nor yet any thing worthy of (that) His resurrection; unless one might say that He was cunning and impure in character, and that those were perversions which He taught us, and the false boasting which was favourable to such things;—come, let us give the right hand to one another, and let us all at once enter into compact among ourselves, that we will unanimously put forth, among all mankind, falsehood<sup>5</sup> respecting Him, and will say, that we saw “*Him give sight to the blind*” a thing which no one (of us) ever heard of<sup>6</sup>; and that “*He cleansed the lepers,*” and “*Raised the dead.*” And we will in a body affirm, that things were done by Him which we (indeed) never saw; and were said (by Him) which we likewise never heard. Those things too which were done, as it were in reality, we will contend for (as such). And, if this His last end has been published, and He so openly received His death that no one can conceal it, we will nevertheless, impudently make this of no effect; attesting pertinaciously that He rose from the dead; was also with all of us, and accompanied us both in conversation and in the usual meals. Let this then, be pertinaciously and shamelessly retained in all these things, and so remain with us, that we persist in it even to death!—For, Why might we (not) expose ourselves to death for nothing<sup>7</sup>? And, Why should it molest us, willingly to receive stripes and torments in our persons, for nothing that is necessary? And, if it be required that we should suffer imprisonment, injury, and affliction, for nothing that is true; should submit instantaneously to this; should all of us together lie by consent, and put forth falsehood for no profit whatever, either to ourselves or to those who may be deceived by us; or, to Him, of whom these lies have been told by us; affirming that He was God: and that we should extend this falsehood, not only to our own people, but should also go out among all mankind, and fill the whole creation with the

<sup>5</sup> Gr. *σύμφωνον*, ib. C.

<sup>6</sup> The Gr. adds, “*ο ουοείς ποθ ημων ιστορησε και κωφοις τη ακοην παρασχειν.*”

<sup>7</sup> Ib. p. 114. A. Gr. “*τί γάρ και άτοπον ύπερ του μηδενός άπο-*

things we have (thus) laid down respecting Him; and should thence proceed forthwith, to make laws for all nations, subversive of the opinions respecting the Gods of their forefathers; those (I say), which had from ancient times been established among them: and, that we should first of all lay our commands upon the Romans, not to worship those whom their forefathers supposed to be Gods; that we should then also pass off to the Greeks, and preach that which is also adverse to their wise men: that we should not neglect the Egyptians, but contend also with their Deities, but should not draw out against them the things of Moses, which were in former times adverse to them, but place against them the Death of our Teacher as something terrific: and should destroy that fame respecting the Gods, which formerly went out from among them to all mankind, not by mere words, and stories, but by the power of our Lord, of Him who was crucified; and, that we should again proceed even to the extremities of the land of the Barbarians, and subvert the things (prevailing) with all men: and for this purpose not one of us should be wanting: For the reward<sup>1</sup> pertaining to the things which we (so) attempted, would not be small, since the triumphs<sup>o</sup> to which we should present ourselves, would not be simple ones; but, as it is likely, (would be) punishments awarded by the laws of every place; open bonds, torments, imprisonments, fire, sword, (death by) the cross and (by) wild beasts: but, because we would acquire a likeness to our Teacher, we would willingly rather, and with joyfulness one and all, continue (partaking) in these calamities! For, What can there be better than this<sup>3</sup>, that we should be found enemies to both God and man, for no one thing profitable? And also, that we should obtain nothin<sup>o</sup> of ease? neither should see our friends, nor in any way increase our wealth? nor even possess the hope of any good to perfection? but should, on the contrary, vainly and without any object err

<sup>1</sup> Syr. [ܡܢܠܘܟܝܘܬܐ]. Gr. “ὁ ἀθλος.” Ib. p. 114. D.

<sup>2</sup> Syr. [ܠܡܫܘܠܡܐ ܠܙܘܪܝܐ]. Gr. “τὰ τυχόντα βραβεῖα.”

<sup>3</sup> Syr. [ܡܘܬܐ ܠܝܫܘܥ ܥܠ ܡܘܬܐ ܠܝܫܘܥ ܥܠ ܡܘܬܐ]. Gr. “τί γὰρ τούτων γένοιτ' ἂν κάλλιον.” Demonstr. Evang. ib.



And again, Could they have put together such lying statements respecting Him, and then have readily submitted to death in support of them?

30. But<sup>1</sup> they went not forth by compact, to this (work of) preaching respecting Him; nor did they make (any compact) among themselves. Whence then, had they this perfect agreement of testimony respecting His deeds? Is it (not) likely, from seeing the things which were done by Him?—For one of (these) two things must be the fact: (viz.) Either, they made compact among themselves, and lied; or else, they attested (what) they had seen with their eyes. If then, they really saw (the things), and preached (them) to all men; they were worthy of credit when they said of our Saviour, that He was God; and, that He permitted them to see with their eyes, (the putting forth of) Divine powers, Miracles, and wonderful Works. If however they really saw none of the things (so) recorded, but put together false statements; and accordingly made oath, and sworn covenant, on this, (viz.) that they would say nothing true, and (then) lied, and attested of their Lord what was false; How could they in reality have submitted to death, for nothing true? and, that neither fire, nor sword, nor fierce beasts, nor the depth of the sea, could make them falsify the accounts, which they had (thus) falsely put forth respecting their Lord?

31. But, How can you say that they neither expected nor hoped, that they should suffer any calamity from this their testimony respecting Him; and, that they therefore went out, even boldly, to the (work of) preaching about Him? On the contrary, it was impossible they should not have hoped<sup>3</sup>, that they should suffer every sort of calamity: superinducing as they did the destruction of the Gods, at once of the Romans, the Greeks, and the Barbarians. Now the Book itself, which (speaks) of them, shews plainly, that after the death of their Lord certain men, enemies of the word and who lay in wait for it, laid hands on them; delivering them first to imprisonment, and then strictly

<sup>1</sup> Wanting in the Gr. ib.

<sup>2</sup> Demonstr. Evang. ib. D.

<sup>3</sup> Gr. “ἀπελπισαι τα πάντα.” This is said with reference to the supposition made above.

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rest forsook His (Christ's) doctrine; and (indeed) all of them prayed, that such things might befall them, in order that they might, for the sake of the worship of God, be like to those already mentioned. And, on this account again, they openly gave their testimony of our Saviour, and of His wonderful works, the more abundantly.

32. And observe, If the things which they preached respecting Him were lies, and they had fabricated them by compact; we ought to wonder how this whole company could have observed this agreement, in what they had fabricated, even to death. And no one of them ever betrayed any fear, on account of the things that had happened to those who had previously been slain; or left their society; or preached that which opposed what his companion had; or brought to light the things they had (so) agreed upon. But even he, who,—filled with the love of money,—dared to deliver Him up to (His) enemies, did forthwith, and with his own hands, inflict punishment on himself<sup>1</sup>!

33. Now, Is not this replete with wonder, that men, who were deceivers and unlettered<sup>2</sup>, knowing neither how to speak, or understand, any language beyond that of their fathers, should not only undertake to go forth and to pass into all nations, but should also (so) go forth and effect (their) purpose? And, let this also be considered, that not even one of them ever uttered a word adverse to the marvellous deeds of their Lord! If then, the agreement of witnesses is sufficient to settle any of those things, about which there is doubt, and which is commonly brought into dispute in the courts of law;—and the law of God has declared that<sup>3</sup> “*in the mouth of two or three witnesses, every matter shall be established*”<sup>4</sup>—Shall not the truth also be established by these, who were the chosen twelve, and

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<sup>1</sup> This was Judas, Matt. xxvi. 14; xxvii. 3, &c. Syr. ܘܢܘܢܐ ܕܝܫܘܥܐ . ܕܝܫܘܥܐ ܘܢܘܢܐ, Gr. “*καθ' ἑαυτοῦ...την δίκην ἐπεσπάσατο.*” Where the Syr. seems to require, ܘܢܘܢܐ ܕܝܫܘܥܐ. This is, I think, an instance of impure Syriac: but it might be the error of some copyist.

- Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 117. Gr. *ιδιωτας.*

<sup>3</sup> This clause does not appear in the Greek.

<sup>4</sup> Deut. xvii. 6; xix. 15. 2 Cor. xiii. 1.



and act in direct opposition to the things, which he himself shewed the Law laid down; and put forth (merely) the form of an approach to purity of life!—But there is nothing so shameless as this! In like manner also, might any one arraign the positions<sup>1</sup> of the Philosophers among the Greeks, whose lives were those of patience, as were all their words, and might say, that they were in their conduct opposed to what they wrote; and so shewed themselves to have made a mere (hypocritical) approach to the life, which belongs to philosophy. And thus, we affirm, might any one simply arraign all the writings of the ancients, and shew cause against the truth which they contain; and might Himself receive that, which is diametrically opposed to these! But, as it cannot be difficult to any one possessed of common sense, to pronounce of this that it would be madness; so also, of the precepts of our Saviour and of His Disciples, should any one pervert the truth which is (found) in these, and then attempt to fix upon Him the things diametrically opposed to His teaching.—But, let that be granted which the statement itself requires. How much more will it then appear, that the assertion of the opponent cannot stand, as (being grounded) in a connivance (concession) which it is improper to (allow)?

35. These things being then refuted, let us also consider the testimony of the Scriptures of the Divinity, and the spotless and truth-loving manner of the Disciples, of our Saviour. Any one therefore, who chooses (to exercise) a sound mind, may hence see, that they were worthy of all dignity, since they confessed that they were mean and unlettered in their discourse, and betook themselves to a love for the doctrine of the worship of God, and of philosophy. They also desired the life, capable of submitting to sufferings, and afflicted by fasting, (by) abstinence from wine and from flesh, and (by) many other humiliating things of the body; by prayer and supplication to God, and more particularly by temperance, and the chief holiness of body

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<sup>1</sup> Syr. [ܐܘܨܘܪܐܘܬܐ; ܐܘܨܘܪܐܘܬܐ]. Demonstr. Evang. p. 117. D.

<sup>2</sup> Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 118. B.



*rejoice*<sup>1</sup>,” How plainly did the firmness and deep (sincerity) of their character not appear, since they fled not from these (severe) exercises of the soul, nor betook themselves to the things of the desires? nor did their Lord moreover allure them by way of deception, or make them His by promising them the things which supply ease and comfort; but, truly and freely foretold to them those which should happen to them; and enabled them to choose for themselves the sort of conduct, which He had laid down for them. Of this sort were the things, which He foretold and attested, respecting the persecutions that were to happen to them, because of His name, (viz.) “*that they should come before governours, and even kings*”<sup>2</sup>,” and, that they should suffer every sort of punishment and vengeance, not on account of any thing hateful, nor for any other just cause; but for this only, (viz.), for their testimony respecting Him; which (indeed), we have seen with our own eyes, has happened even to this time? His prediction moreover, is worthy of our admiration; for the testimony (given) respecting the name of our Saviour, and the confessing of Him, had usually the effect of inflaming the anger of the Rulers. And, even if nothing hateful had been perpetrated by any one confessing Christ, they punished and injuriously treated him, on account of His name, as evil, and more evil than any other thing: but, if any one did not confess His name, but denied that he was a Disciple of Christ, he was immediately set at liberty, even if he were implicated in many things which were abominable! But, What necessity can there be, that I should collect and endeavour to record, the many things relating to the lives of the Disciples of our Saviour, when the things already advanced, will be sufficient proof of (all) that is before us? To these (however) we will again add the things (following), here in (their) place; and with these we will conclude<sup>3</sup> our discussion.

37. As to Matthew the Apostle<sup>4</sup> his former manner

<sup>1</sup> John xvi. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Mark ix. 13. Luke xxi. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Syr. ܣܘܠܐ, which perhaps ought to be ܣܘܠܐ. The Greek is quite different.

<sup>4</sup> See the note to the next paragraph. Demonst. Evang. Lib. iii. p. 119. D. seq. with certain variations.

of life was not that which was excellent; on the contrary, he was one of those whose business was tax-gathering and fraud. This however, not one of the rest of the Apostles has laid open to us, neither John the Apostle who was with him, nor Luke, nor Mark, the writers of the rest of the Gospels: but Matthew, recording his own manner of life, has become his own accuser! Hear then, how openly he has memorialized his own name against himself in his own writing, and has thus spoken:—

38. “<sup>5</sup> *And, when Jesus passed from thence, He saw a man sitting among the Tax-gatherers, whose name was Matthew; and He said to him, Follow me: and he arose (and) followed Him. And it came to pass that when He was sitting in the house, Behold many Tax-gatherers and Sinners were sitting with Jesus, and with His Disciples.*” And again, after these things, when passing away, and reciting the number of the rest of the Disciples, He added respecting Himself the name of Tax-gatherer, and spoke thus: “*The<sup>6</sup> names of the twelve Apostles are these: The first, Simon who is called Cephas, and Andrew his brother, James the son of Zebedee and John his brother, Philip and Bartholomew, and Thomas and Matthew the Tax-gatherer.*” Thus therefore Matthew evinces, through the greatness of (his) humility, his truth-loving character, calls himself a Tax-gatherer; conceals not his former mode of life, and counts himself among sinners! He also numbers himself second to the Apostle who was with him; for he associated (himself) with Thomas, as (he did) Simon with Andrew, James with John, and Philip with Bartholomew; placing Thomas first, and honouring him as the more excellent Apostle with himself; while the rest of the Evangelists have done the reverse of this<sup>7</sup>. Hear therefore how Luke

<sup>5</sup> Matt. ix. 9—11. As before, differing considerably from the Peschito.

<sup>6</sup> Matt. x. 2, 3.

<sup>7</sup> An extract from the original Greek of this place, having been preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna, and kindly communicated to me, (see Book iv. sect. 6, above,) I shall now give it as before (l. c.) “Fol. 375. v. Ευσεβ<sup>β</sup>. εὐαγγελ<sup>λ</sup> θεοφ<sup>α</sup>: (hæc rubrica excipit locum Lucæ de vocatione Levi:)” Ἀξίον θαυμάσαι το ἀπλαστον καὶ φιλαληθες ἦθος.

bears record of Matthew, not giving him the appellation of Tax-gatherer, nor placing him after Thomas ; but, because he considered him the more worthy, numbering him first, and placing Thomas after him, just as Mark has done: His words then, are these: “*And*<sup>1</sup>, *when it was day, He called His Disciples, and chose twelve out of them, those whom He named Apostles: Simon, whom He named Cephas; and*

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καὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ ματθαίου. οὗτος γὰρ τὸν πρότερον βίον, οὐκ ἀπὸ σεμνῆς διατριβῆς ὠρμάτο, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὰς τελωνίας καὶ πλεονεξίας σχολαζόντων. καὶ τοῦτο τῶν λοιπῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν οὐδεὶς δῆλον ἡμῖν ἐποίησεν. οὐκ ὁ συναπόστολος αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννης. οὐδὲ γε λουκᾶς. οὐδὲ μάρκος οἱ τῶν λοιπῶν εὐαγγελίων συγγραφεῖς. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν λουκᾶς συγκαλλύπτων τὸ ὄνομα τῇ ἀρχαιοτέρα προσηγορία κατεχρήσατο. αὐτὸς δ' ὁ ματθαῖος. τὸν ἑαυτοῦ στηλιτεύων ὕjon” (lego βίον.) “καὶ κατήγορος ἑαυτοῦ γινόμενος, ὀνομαστὶ, αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ μεμνημένος. ἐν τῷ οἰκειῷ συγγράμματι τόνδ' ἱστορεῖ τὸν τρόπον. καὶ παράγων ἐκεῖθεν ὁ ἰς. εἶδεν ἄνον” (ἄνθρωπον) καθήμενον ἐπὶ τὸ τελῶιον ματθαῖον ὀνόματι, ἐλέγχων ἑαυτοῦ τὸ τραῦμα ἵνα θαυμάσης τὴν τέχνην τοῦ ἱατρούσαντος. καὶ πάλιν προῖων ἐξῆς, τόν τε κατάλογον τῶν λοιπῶν μαθητῶν ἐξαριθμούμενος, αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ τὸ τοῦ τελῶνου προστίθησιν ὄνομα. δι' ὑπερβολὴν ἐπεικειάς· μὴ ἐπικρύπτων τὸν πρότερον αὐτοῦ βίον. (Fol. 376 r.) καὶ ἀμαρτωλοῖς ἑαυτὸν συναριθμεῖ. καὶ τοῦ συναποστόλου, δεῦτερον ἑαυτὸν καταλέγει. συνεζυγμένος γοῦν τῷ θωμᾶ, ὡς πετρος ἀνδρέα. καὶ ιάκωβος ἰωάννη, φίλιππος τε καὶ βαρθολομαῖος. προτάττει ἑαυτοῦ τὸν θωμᾶν. προτιμῶν ὡς κρείττονα τὸν συναπόστολον. τῶν λοιπῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν τουναντίον πεποιηκότων:—*Sequitur et hoc loco rubrica: γρηγορίου θεολόγ.*” Dr Kopitar adds, “*Nota quid si sub Corderii Eusebio et Theophane, quem ille e Bessarionis codice citat, nec definit, lateat Eusebii θεοφάνεια? E nostro nil amplius apparet. Sed video a Kollarii nota ad Lambecii recensionem, Rich. Simonem laudare similem catenam Bibliothecæ Parisinæ.*”—The Parisian Catena I have no means of examining. The query respecting the Codex of Cardinal Bessarion, I must leave to those who have access to that Codex. On other extracts, found by Signor Mai, see p. 225, above, note. The learned reader will perceive, that in this, as well as the former extract, the “*Iota subscriptum*” is every where omitted: and that, in this extract, a few words have been added by the compiler of the Catena in which it is found. The whole passage is also found, with some variations, in the *Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iii. v. p. 119. D. seq.*

<sup>1</sup> Luke vi. 13. seq.

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he betook himself to the recording of these things, (viz.) when Jesus asked what men said of Him, and the Disciples themselves what they thought of Him; Simon answered and said to Him, "*Thou<sup>1</sup> art the Christ;*"—made the statement that Jesus did not even answer him, or say any thing to him; but that He forbade their telling this to any man. Now Mark committed these things to writing, although he was not present with Jesus when He said them; but he had heard them from Peter, when he taught them. Peter however, was unwilling to state the things which Jesus had said either to him, or about him, by way of testimony (favourable) to himself. But, the things which were said of him are these, (which) Matthew has put forth in these (words): "*But<sup>2</sup> you, Whom say ye that I am? Simon said to Him, Thou art the Christ the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said to him; Blessed art thou Simon son of Jonas, since flesh and blood have not revealed (this) to thee, but my Father who is in heaven. And I also say to thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock<sup>3</sup> will I build my Church, and the gate-bars of hell shall not prevail against it. And I give to thee the keys<sup>4</sup> of the kingdom of heaven; and every one whom thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and every one whom thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.*" When (therefore), all these things were said to Simon Peter by Jesus, Mark did not record so much as

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<sup>1</sup> Mark viii. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. xvi. 15—20. Disagreeing in many respects with the Peschito, as before. Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 121. A. B.

<sup>3</sup> See above, Book iv. sect. 2, where we have a good explanation of this passage. It is also cited Prep. Evang. Lib. i. cap. iii. p. mihi. 8. C., also Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iii. cap. v. p. 121. B.

<sup>4</sup> I would remark here, that by "*binding and loosing,*" can only be meant, the office,—committed primarily to the Apostles, and secondarily to all duly authorized Ministers of Christ—of preaching, *ministerially*, the remission of sins through faith in Him: the fact being, that no one of the Apostles ever did, in his own person, proceed to pronounce pardon of sin on any man, nor, on the other hand, to denounce damnation: this mode of speaking of any thing as done, when the enunciation of it only is intended, being very frequently had recourse to in the Scriptures. See my Heb. Gram. Art. 154, 8; 157, 6, second or third edit.

one of them ; because, as it is probable, neither did Peter mention them in his teaching<sup>5</sup>. These things therefore, Simon Peter well kept silent, and thence Mark omitted them. But the things of his denial (of Christ), he preached to all men ; and (so) caused an accusation to be recorded against himself ! That he wept bitterly too, over this, you will find Mark to have given the record in these (words) : “ *And<sup>6</sup>, when Peter was in the court, one of the maid-servants of the High Priest came to him ; and, when she saw that he was warming (himself), she looked upon him and said to him, Thou also wast with Jesus the Nazarene. But he denied and said, I know (him) not, nor do I perceive what thou sayest : and he went out into the outer court ; and the cock crew. And again a maid saw him, and began to say to those who were standing (by) ;*

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<sup>5</sup> Both Estius (in difficil. Script. loc. in Marc. viii. 29.) and Dr Hammond (Annot. on the title of Matt.) have also noticed this, as Eusebius has. (Prep. Evang. Lib. iii. cap. vii.) “ St Peter’s humility,” says the former, “ would not suffer him to tell these” (honourable) “ things to St Mark, when he was writing his Gospel”...“ which evidences the great modesty of the Apostle.” Dr Hammond:...“ He (Peter, and after Him Mark) doth it, (mentions his denial, &c.) *more coldly* than Matthew had done, only *ἐκλαιε*...Matthew, *ἐκλαιε πικρῶς*.” Jones (on the Canon, Vol. iii. p. 65.) well remarks,...“ There is not any one single instance in all his Gospel (i. e. Mark’s) which tends to advance the honour...of Peter above the rest of the Apostles ;...which cannot be accounted for by any way more probable, than supposing that the Apostle did not publish those circumstances which were so much in his favour.” He also remarks, that, Peter’s working a miracle, in order to pay the tribute, is omitted by Mark. See Matt. xvii. 24. Mark ix. 30—33. Our Lord’s saying he would pray for Peter, Luke xxii. 31—32, is also omitted. Peter’s humility in not allowing Christ to wash his feet, is also omitted. (John xiii. 6.). Peter’s zeal in cutting off the High Priest’s servant’s ear, John xviii. 10, is also omitted, as is his faith in leaping into the sea, John xxi. 7 : also the particular charge to feed His sheep, John xxi. 15 : as also the prediction of his martyrdom, John xxi. 18. It is worthy of remark too, that all these omissions were made in *the city of Rome*, where Peter taught, and where Mark, most likely, wrote his Gospel ! Surely the Apostle never could have intended to be elevated there as superior to all the Apostles, and head of the whole Christian Church ! Is it not probable that his intention was, to guard against the assumption, which he foresaw would be had recourse to ?

<sup>6</sup> Mark xiv. 66, to the end : differing from the Peschito, as before.





For this, that (men) should affirm that these same persons were true; and again this, that they were false, would be nothing else but to affirm of them, that which is in itself contradictory! Of What sort then, should the reprehension of these be? For, if this stigma is to be fixed upon them, (viz.) that they propagated falsehood, and exalted their Lord by lying statements, and adorned Him by means of (fabricated) miracles; they surely never would have committed to writing the things already mentioned, which were adverse to themselves; nor would they have made it known to those, who should come afterwards, that He, whose ambassadors they were, was “*oppressed*” and “*exceedingly sorrowful*,” and was *perturbed in his soul*: or, that they “*forsook Him and fled*:” or, that he, who was the chosen of all the Apostles, and His Disciple, the same Simon Peter (I say),—who is preached of,—did, without either pain (inflicted), or torment threatened, deny Him three times! For these things, even if said by others, it was necessary they should deny; they (I say), who betook themselves to nothing else, except the fabrication of false statements favourable to Him, and magnifying both themselves and their Lord.

43. If<sup>1</sup> then, they appear to be lovers of truth in those grievous accounts (which they give) of Him; much more are they so in those glorious ones. For those, who chose to lie on any one occasion, would the more particularly avoid those things which brought difficulty with them, either by silence or denial of them: because, those who should come after, would not have it in their power to blame the things, which they had (so) kept silent. Why then, did they not lie and say that Judas who betrayed Him, forthwith became a stone<sup>2</sup>, when he dared to give the kiss—the signal of betrayal? And, that he who dared to strike Him on the cheek, had his right hand immediately withered? And the High Priest of the Jews, because he ran along with those who criminated Him, became blind in his eyes? But, Why did not they all lie, (and say) that, in

<sup>1</sup> Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 123. B. C. with some variations.

<sup>2</sup> Syr. ܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܫܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ, Gr. ἀπολιθωθειν, *became a stone*.

truth, no grievance (whatsoever) happened to Him? but, that He concealed Himself from men, and laughed at their judgment-hall? and, that those who accused Him, were deceived by spectres sent from God; thinking that they were doing something adverse to one who was not near them? And, Why should not this have been (deemed) more glorious, than their falsely stating that “*He raised the dead,*” and was *the doer of wonderful works?* This, that they should have recorded, that nothing either human or mortal happened to him; but, that He did every thing by the Divine power?—That He made His ascension to heaven in the Divine glory? For those, who gave credence to their other accounts, could not have withholden their belief from these. How then, should those be (deemed) worthy of exemption from every suspicion of vice, who concealed nothing of the truth, as to the difficulties and calamities (so happening); and not also worthy of all credit, as to the other miraculous deeds which they attested respecting Him? The testimony therefore, of these men respecting our Saviour, is sufficient. There is nevertheless, nothing to prohibit our availing ourselves, even the more abundantly, of the Hebrew witness Josephus; who, in the Eighteenth Book of his Antiquities of the Jews, writing the things that belonged to the times of Pilate, commemorates our Saviour in these words:—

*(The testimony) of Josephus respecting the Christ.*

44. “At<sup>3</sup> this period then was Jesus, a wise man, if it be right to call Him a man; for He was the doer of

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<sup>3</sup> Antiq. Jud. Lib. xviii. cap. iv. sect. 3. Edit. Hudson, p. 798. where the passage is thus given, “Γίνεται <sup>a</sup>δε κατα τουτον τον χρονον<sup>b</sup> Ἰησοῦς, σοφος ἀνὴρ, εἶγε ἀνδρα αὐτον λεγειν χρη. ἦν γαρ παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητῆς, <sup>c</sup>διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡδονῆ <sup>d</sup>τάληθῆ δεχομένων· καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ <sup>e</sup>ἐπηγάγετο. <sup>f</sup>ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν, καὶ αὐτὸν<sup>g</sup> ἐνδείξει τῶν πρώτων <sup>h</sup>ἀνδρῶν <sup>i</sup>παρ’ ἡμῖν, σταυρωῖ ἐπιτετιμηκότος Πιλάτου, οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο <sup>j</sup>οἶγε πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἀγαπήσαντες, ἐψάνη γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχων<sup>k</sup> ἡμέραν πάλιν ζῶν, τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα <sup>l</sup>μυρία θαυμάσια περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰρηκότων. <sup>m</sup>εἰς ἔτι νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τοῦδε <sup>n</sup>ἰστορομασμένων οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τὸ φῦλον.” Hudson has

wonderful works, and the Teacher of those men who, with pleasure, received Him in truth. And He brought together many (both) of the Jews, and many of the profane (Gentiles). And this was the Messiah (Christ). And, when Pilate, at the suggestion of the principal ancient men among ourselves, laid on Him the punishment of the Cross, those who formerly loved Him were not reduced to silence. For He appeared again to them, on the third day, alive: things which, with many others, the Prophets had said respecting Him: so that from thence, and even until now, the race of the Christians has not been wanting to Him."

45. If<sup>1</sup> therefore, as (this) author attests of Him,

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has given (ib.) a good list of various readings. It will be sufficient for me to notice those observed by our Syrian translator. This passage is cited by Eusebius both in his Ecclesiastical History (Lib. I. cap. xi.), and in his *Demonstratio Evangelica* (Lib. III. v. p. 124. B.) as may be seen in Hudson. a. So the Syr. ܩܘܕܫܘܬܐ. b. So the Syr. c. Syr. και διδάσκαλος. d. Syr. τῆ ἀληθεία δεχομενων αυτου. e. So the Syr. not "*pellexit*," as in the Latin of Hudson's Edit. f. Syr. και ὁ χριστός. g. Syr. ܠܘܨܘܩܐ, *insimulatione*? This word I have never met with before in this sense. h. the Syr. adds ܠܘܨܘܩܐ, οἱ πάλαι, παλαιῶι, or ἀρχαῖοι, if we have not two translations here of the Greek, των πρωτων, which I suspect is the case. i. The Syr. seems to have had των παρ' ἡμῖν. j. Syr. seems to have had, οἱ το πρωτον. k. Probably not in the Greek of our translator. l. Not in the copy of our Syrian. m. The Syr. seems to have read, οθεν εις επι. n. Did not exist in the Greek of our translator.—See also Fabricii *Salutaris Lux Evangelii*, cap. ii. p. 16. seq.—It has been very common to suspect this passage as spurious, or as partly so; and some have gone so far as to charge Eusebius with the fraud. See the notes of Valesius to the *Eccl. Hist.* l. c. above. The chief ground for this suspicion appears to be, Josephus's saying, *This was the Christ*, when, in fact, he was no Christian. But, Is it necessary to suppose this? The Rulers of the Jews must have known that Jesus was the Christ; and yet, they resisted Him, even to the uttermost! They were acquainted with His miracles, and His resurrection. Did they act accordingly? Quite the contrary! Much the same might be said of thousands among ourselves, who willingly give their testimony to the historical fact of Jesus being the Christ, but who are still as little friends to His cause as Josephus was. Whatever may, therefore, be the fact of the case, as to this reading, I do not see how it can be impugned on grounds so fallacious as these. My own impression is, that it is not spurious.

<sup>1</sup> *Demonstr. Evang.* ib. p. 124. C. D.

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think<sup>1</sup>, he would attempt this with the greatest impropriety. For, How could they who could scarcely open<sup>2</sup> their lips, ever be the Teachers of any one man, much less of multitudes? And, How could they,—destitute of every sort of erudition,—address whole assemblies, unless this were indeed a shewing forth of the will of God? For He called them, as we have already shewn, and said in the first place “*Follow me, and I will make you Fishers of men*”<sup>3</sup>.” And, because He thenceforth made them His own, and they adhered to Him, He breathed into them the Divine power<sup>4</sup>, and filled them both with strength and courage: and, as He was THE WORD OF GOD in truth, and the Doer of all these miracles, He made them the Fishermen of intellectual and reasonable souls; adding, at once to the word “*Follow me, and I will make you,*” the Deed, making them both the Doers. and Teachers, of the worship of His God<sup>5</sup>. And thus He sent them forth into all nations throughout the whole creation, and demonstrated that they were the Preachers of His doctrine. And, Who is not astonished, and probably incredulous, as to this miracle,—which could scarcely (indeed) have been imagined? Since no one, of those who have been eminent, has ever been commemorated as having had recourse to any such thing as this; or has come up to any thing resembling it<sup>6</sup>. For it has been the desire of each one of these, to set up something promising to himself, in his own land only; or, to be able to establish such laws as seemed to him good, among some one people of his own. But observe of Him, who availed himself of nothing either human or mortal, how, in reality, He again put forth the word of God in the precept, which He gave

<sup>1</sup> Gr. “εἰκός τινα παραλογώτατα ταῦτα αὐτον πεποιηκέναι νομίσαι.” Lat. “utpote cum verisimile sit illum censuisse, præter omnem rationem hæc se facturum.” Which is incorrect: better perhaps,—and as our Syriac has taken it,—quæquam censuisse, or the like.

<sup>2</sup> Syr. ܪܫܢ ܠܘܨܢ ܠܘܨܢܐ, lit. *lift up their lips*: copied perhaps from the Biblical, “*lift up the voice.*” Gr. ib. B. “οἰαται συνάμενοι στόμα.”

<sup>3</sup> See Book iv. par. 6, above. This matter occurs also in the Demonstr. Evang. Lib. III. cap. v. p. 135. B. C. seq.

<sup>4</sup> John xx. 22.

<sup>5</sup> The Greek is different here, ib. C.

<sup>6</sup> The Greek has much more here. ib. D.

to these His powerless Disciples, (viz) “*Go ye and make Disciples of all nations*”<sup>7</sup>! It is likely too, His Disciples would thus address their Lord, by way of answer<sup>8</sup>. How can we do this? For, How can we preach to the Romans? And, How can we discourse with the Egyptians? What diction can we use against the Greeks; being brought up in the Syrian language only? How can we persuade the Persians, the Armenians, the Chaldeans, the Scythians, the Hindoos, and other nations called Barbarians, to desert the gods of their forefathers, and to worship the one Creator of all things? And, upon What superiority of words can we rely, that we shall succeed in this? Or, How can we hope, that we shall prevail in the things attempted? (viz.) that we shall legislate for all nations, in direct opposition to the laws laid down from ancient times, (and this) against their gods? And, What power have we upon which to trust, that we shall succeed in this enterprise? These things therefore, the Disciples of our Saviour would either have thought, or said. But He who was their Lord solved, by one additional word, the aggregate of the things of which they doubted, (and) pledged them by saying, “*Ye shall conquer in my name*”<sup>9</sup>. For it was not that He commanded them, simply and indiscriminately, to go and make Disciples of all nations; but with this excellent addition<sup>10</sup> which He delivered, (viz): “*In my name.*” Since it was by the power of His name that all this came to pass<sup>11</sup>; as the Apostle has said, “*God*<sup>12</sup> *has given Him a name, which is superior to every name: that, at the name of Jesus, every knee should bow which is in heaven, and which is in earth, and which is beneath the earth.*” It is likely therefore, that He would shew forth the excellency of the unseen power, which was

<sup>7</sup> Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 136. A.

<sup>8</sup> The Greek is interrogative here, καὶ πῶς, εἶπον ἂν οἱ Μαθηταί, κ. τ. λ.

<sup>9</sup> Ib. C. This is perhaps, as on some other occasions, the substance only of certain passages, e. g. Mark xvi. 17, 18. John xiv. 13, 14, &c. The Greek however has only, “*ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου,*” *in my name.*

<sup>10</sup> Syr. ܠܕܝܢܘܢܐ ܠܥܡܘܢܐ, Gr. “*προσθήκης δε αναγκαίας.*”

<sup>11</sup> This last sentence is wanting in the Greek, with other variations.

<sup>12</sup> Ib. C. D.

hidden from the many, by *His name*; and, (accordingly) He made the addition, “*In my name.*” He thus accurately foretold moreover, something which should come to pass, (when) He said, “*It is expedient that this my Gospel be preached in the whole world, for the testimony of all nations*<sup>1</sup>.” Now, this matter was then declared in a corner of the earth, so that those only who were at hand could have heard it. But, How could they have believed Him when He said this, unless they had taken experiment as to the truth of His words, from the other Divine acts which were done by Him? For this, you are compelled to confess when it is considered, that they gave credence to what He said. For, when He gave them the command, not so much as one sought to be excused; but they confided in what He had intimated: and, just as His promises had been, so DID they make Disciples of the whole race of men! They did go forth from their own land into all nations; and, in a short time, His words were seen in effect! His Gospel was therefore shortly preached, throughout the whole creation, for the testimony of all nations, so that the Barbarians and Greeks received the Scriptures, respecting the common Saviour of all, in the handwriting of their Progenitors, and in the words of their spiritual Fathers<sup>2</sup>.

47. A man<sup>3</sup> might therefore well stand in doubt, as to what the form of the doctrine of our Saviour’s Disciples was; how they passed on into the midst of cities, and so proclaimed (it) in the middle of the streets; lifting up their voices, calling to those with whom they met, and thence conversing with the people: also, of what sort the language was in which they addressed them, so that we can imagine the hearers were persuaded thereby: and (again), how (such) men, inexperienced in words and far removed from every sort of erudition, could speak before the people; and (this), if not in large assemblies, still with the few with

<sup>1</sup> Cited also above, p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> The terms here, are,  $\{\text{ܩܫܘܢܐ}\}$ , and  $\{\text{ܩܫܘܠܘܢܐ}\}$ , respectively. The Syrian Grammarians make this distinction, although it is not constantly adopted, as Castell has shewn. The Greek, however, has, (Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 137. A.) “*πατριοις χαρακτηρησιν και πατριω φωνη.*”

<sup>3</sup> Ib. p. 137. A.

whom they met, and then addressed: and, of what, and of what sort of terms, they made use for persuading (their) hearers. Nor was their effort<sup>4</sup> small, since they by no means denied the ignominious death of Him, whom they preached. But even if they concealed this, and did not confess before all, what, and how many, things He suffered of the Jews, but put forth only those splendid and glorious things—I say indeed,—His wondrous works, His miraculous operations, and His doctrines of the (true) Philosophy—still, the matter will not thus be made easy, (viz.) how they could make those who heard them, easily to give in to their declarations: because their diction would be foreign. They would too, now be listening to declarations entirely new, (coming) from men, who possessed nothing worthy of truth, in testimony of the things affirmed by them.

48. But<sup>5</sup>, let it be supposed that the persuasives now put forth were these, (viz.) that those who were His ambassadors, should at one time preach that He was God; that, in body, He was human; and that, in his nature, He was no other than THE WORD OF GOD: on which account also, He performed all these miracles, and (put forth these) powers: but, that at another time, He suffered reproach and infamy, and at last the capital and shameful punishment of the Cross; which is inflicted on those (only), who are in their deeds the worst of all men. Who then, would not (now) properly treat them with ridicule, as affirming things opposed to each other? And, Who is he, whose intellect would (partake) so much of stone<sup>6</sup>, as readily to believe them, when they said that they saw Him ' after His death? that He rose from the dead?—Him (I say), who could not help Himself when among the living<sup>7</sup>? And (again), Who would ever be persuaded by men so illiterate and

<sup>4</sup> Syr. ܠܘܣܡܝܢܐ, Gr. ἀποὶς ὁ ἀγών.

<sup>5</sup> Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 137. C. D.

<sup>6</sup> Gr. ib. “τίς δ' οὕτως ἠλίθιος ὑπήρχεν.”

<sup>7</sup> Syr. ܠܘܣܡܝܢܐ, which, no doubt, ought to be ܠܘܣܡܝܢܐ: the Greek having, “λέγουσιν ἑωρακέναι μετὰ τὸν θάνατον.” κ. τ. λ. manifestly involving a plurality, from the preceding terms.

<sup>8</sup> This argument is advanced by Celsus: Origen contra Cels. Lib. 11. n. 94. seq.

deficient as these, when saying; You should despise the things of your own forefathers; charge as folly those of the wise of ancient times; suffer yourselves to be persuaded by us alone, and to be commanded by the precepts of Him who was crucified: for He only is the beloved, and only (begotten) of that God alone, who is over all?

49. I myself however, investigating for myself with effort<sup>1</sup>, and in the love of truth, this same thing (singly), should perceive not one virtue in it (making it) credible, nor even any thing great, or worthy of faith, nor so persuasive, as adequate to the persuading of even one illiterate person, much less men wise and intellectual. Nevertheless, when again I view its power, and the result of its doings; how the many myriads have given their assent to it, and how Churches of tens of thousands of men have been brought together, by these very deficient and rustic persons; —nor that these were built in obscure places, nor in those which are unknown, but rather in the greatest cities, I say in the Imperial city of Rome itself, in Alexandria, in Antioch, in all Egypt, in Libya, in Europe, in Asia, both in the villages and (other) places, and among all nations; I am again compelled to recur to the question of (its) cause, and to confess, that they (the Disciples) could not otherwise have undertaken this enterprise, than by a Divine power which exceeds that of man, and by the assistance of Him who said to them, “*Go<sup>2</sup>, and make Disciples of all nations in my name.*” And, when He had said this to them, He attached to it the promise, by which they should be so encouraged, as readily to give themselves up to the things commanded. For He said to them, “*Behold<sup>3</sup> I am with you always, even to the end of the world.*” It is stated, more-

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<sup>1</sup> The Syriac has here, ܕܥܡܟܘܢܐ : which is perhaps here, as in some other places already noticed, used in the sense of *energy* or *vigour*. The Greek, *ib.* p. 138. A. has no equivalent. All our author means is probably this, that, looking at such a project of converting the world, with such means simply, how much soever he might be disposed to look candidly on the thing; yet he could not but conclude, that it really promised nothing: i. e. provided other and almighty powers had not been put forth in it.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. xxviii. 19.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* ver. 20.

over, that He breathed into them the Holy Ghost with the Divine power; (thus) giving them the power to work miracles, saying at one time, "*Receive ye the Holy Ghost*;" and at another, commanding them, to "*Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, and cast out Demons:—freely ye have received, freely give*"<sup>5</sup>."

50. Even you yourself see therefore, how this their word took effect; since even the Book of their Acts attests things like to these, and which accord with them; how,—(for example,) when writing also of those by whom miraculous deeds were done in the name of Jesus<sup>6</sup>, those, who were present and saw, were astonished. They were astonished, as it should seem, at those who had formerly seen (this power) by means of deeds; and who then made them (*i. e.* the chief Priests,) readily to ask, Who this was, by whose power and name the miracle had been wrought?—And thus, as they taught, they found that these had in faith (even) run before their instruction. For, it was not by words that they were persuaded; but it was by the deeds which preceded these, that they were readily prevailed upon to accede to the things said. It is also said, that men suddenly brought to them sacrifices and libations, as if they had been Gods; thinking that one of them was Mercury, the other Jupiter: and the whole of this astonishment was, to their minds, a demonstration that the deeds done were miraculous. And, as all those which they preached respecting our Saviour, were such as these, they were thenceforth quickly, and with propriety, received. Nor did they give their testimony of His resurrection from the dead, by mere words and without proofs; but, by their power and by deeds did they persuade, and shew forth the works of the living (God).

51. If<sup>8</sup> then, they preached that He was God, and the Son of God, and that He was with the Father before He came among men; Why should they not have especially added to this, that they believed what was adverse to have been impossible and incredible? For they must have justly thought it impossible, that these acts could have been

<sup>4</sup> John xx. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Matt. x. 8, &c.

<sup>6</sup> This seems to refer to Acts iii. 7, &c. iv. 7, &c.

<sup>7</sup> Acts xiv. 12, &c.

<sup>8</sup> Demonstr. Evang. ib. p. 139. B. C.

those of men; but, on the contrary, those of God, even the more<sup>1</sup> though no one would say (this).

52. And<sup>2</sup> this, and nothing else, is indeed the thing required, (viz.) by what power<sup>3</sup> the Disciples of our Saviour gained credit from those, who had from the first heard them: and how they persuaded both Greeks and Barbarians to think of Him, as of THE WORD OF GOD: and how they set up in the midst of the cities, and in all villages, Houses<sup>4</sup> (appropriated to) the Doctrine of the worship of the supreme God. And, Who is not also astonished at this, when he considers with himself, and feels satisfied, that this could not have been of man; that never at any former time, were the many nations of the whole creation subject to the one sovereign rule of the Romans, except only since the time of our Saviour? For it happened, immediately upon His passing about among men, that the affairs of the Romans became great<sup>5</sup>;—that, at that time, Augustus was primarily the sole Sovereign of many nations; and that in his time Cleopatra was inflamed with love<sup>6</sup>; and the traditionary (kingdom) of the Ptolemies in Egypt was dissolved<sup>7</sup>. For, from that time, and until now, that kingdom which was from ancient time; and of it, as one might say, the ancient germ of men which was established in Egypt, have been rooted up. From

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<sup>1</sup> Syr. ܕܘܟܘܢܐ, for which we have nothing in the Greek, which stands thus, “καὶν μὴ λέγει τις.” <sup>2</sup> Ib. C. D.

<sup>3</sup> Syr. ܡܫܠܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ. Gr. “ὁποία δυνάμει.” Lat. Trans. “*victores fuerint*,” laxly.

<sup>4</sup> Gr. “Διδασκαλεῖα.” Lat. “*schola atque auditoria*.” generally, as places of Christian instruction.

<sup>5</sup> See Book III. sect. i. seq. above. <sup>6</sup> Gr. ἀλούσης. Syr. ܕܘܟܘܢܐ.

<sup>7</sup> The authors of “The Universal History,” tells us, after reciting the amours of Julius Cæsar and of Mark Anthony with Cleopatra, (Vol. IX. p. 480, Edit. 1747,) that “In her ended the family of Ptolemy Lagus, the founder of the *Egyptian* monarchy, after it had ruled over Egypt, from the death of Alexander, two hundred and ninety four years, or, as others will have it, two hundred and ninety three, and three months. For from this time *Egypt* was reduced to a *Roman* province, and governed by a prætor sent thither from *Rome*.”—On the prophecies of Daniel relating to this period, the work of Sir Isaac Newton on this subject, or Rollin’s *Ancient History*, may be consulted with advantage.

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the enemies of His word, by the greater fear of a superior kingdom. For it was His will, that (His word) should daily increase and extend itself to all mankind: and again, so, that it should not be thought, that, it was by the connivance of the Rulers, and not by the superior power of God, it took effect.—When any one of the tyrants was so elated by wickedness, as to set about resisting the word of Christ, the God of all even allowed such at once to do his will; because he would afford proof to those combatants<sup>1</sup> for (establishing) the worship of God, and also that it might be seen clearly by all men, that it was not by the will of man that the word was established, but by the power of God himself. And, Who is not<sup>2</sup> instantly amazed at the things which usually come to pass in times such as these<sup>3</sup>? For, those ancient combatants from among men for the worship of God, kept secret<sup>4</sup> the nature of their superiority: at that time<sup>5</sup> they became known and seen by all, when they were adorned with the victories which were from God: while those, who were the enemies of the worship of God, received the punishments which were justly their due: chastized (as they were) by strokes sent from God, and their entire bodies wasted by grievous and incurable diseases, so as to have been speedily driven to confess

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<sup>1</sup> Syr. ܝܡܝܢܝܢ. Gr. ἀλλήτων.

<sup>2</sup> The negative is wanting in the Latin translation here, but not in the Greek.

<sup>3</sup> Reference (see also Eccl. Hist. Lib. ix. cap. ix. p. 293. B.) is probably here made to some of those marvellous things done in ancient times in favour of God's Church. In the Ecclesiastical History of our Author, the deliverance from Egypt is thus compared with the erection of the Christian Church. Paulus Orosius makes a similar comparison, (Lib. vii. cap. xxvii. See my Sermons and Dissertations, Lond. 1830, pp. 309—10.), and Lactantius treats this matter much at length in his admirable Tract, "*De mortibus Persecutorum.*" See also, on the death of Domitian, Suetonius, Lib. xi. cap. xvi. seq. Galerius was the instigator of the last persecution. See his miserable end. Hist. Eccl. Lib. viii. cap. xvi. p. 257. seq. See also, ib. Lib. ix. cap. vi. p. 287. ib. cap. x. p. 297. B. C. ib. p. 298. D. seq. also Constantini orat. ad Sanct. cœt. cap. xxiv. xxv.

<sup>4</sup> Wanting in the Greek, ib. p. 140. D.

<sup>5</sup> Syr. ܕܢܝܢܐ, by an error of the press, for ܕܢܝܢܐ.

their wickedness in opposing our Saviour<sup>6</sup>! But these, the rest of all those who were worthy of the Divine name (Christian), and who gloried in thinking of the things which belonged to Christ, did in a short time shew, being brought through trials,—the purity and refining of their minds, and that they had thus also obtained freedom for their souls. And soon did God cause, that, by their means, **THE WORD**, the Saviour, should arise (as the sun) on tens of thousands.

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<sup>6</sup> This, although hinting—it may be—at the plagues of Egypt, and the fall of Pharaoh and his host, has more immediate reference to the Roman Emperors, who took an active part in the persecutions of the Church. See the authorities just referred to, particularly Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. viii. cap. xvii. p. 257. This part closes with Demonstr. Evang. Lib. iii. ib. p. 141. A.

*The End of writing the Five Books of Eusebius of Cæsaræa, which are called “The Divine Manifestation.”*

## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

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Preface, Page iv. on the term "Theophanīa."

IN our Author's Commentary on Ps. xlix. (Heb. l.) v. 2, on the words *ευπρεπεια δε ωραιοτητος*. (Heb.) "*the perfection of beauty:*" we have, *ἡ ἔνδοξος αὐτοῦ θεοφανία*. (of our work, *θεοφάνεια*; and *ib.* pp. 522. C. 524. D.) *ταύτην καὶ τό· ὁ θεὸς ἐμφανῶς ἤξει, δηλοῖ. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν πρώτην αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων κρινόμενος ἐσιώπα· οὐδὲ τοσαῦτα πάσχων ἡμύνατο, οὐδὲ πᾶσιν ἐδείκνυ τὴν ἰδίαν θεότητα. τότε δὲ φησὶν ἐμφανῶς ἤξει καὶ οὐ παρασιωπήσεται.*" κ. τ. λ. "*Species autem decoris est gloriosa ejus theophania, quam aperte declaret illud: Deus manifestè veniet. In primo itaque adventu suo, dum ab hominibus judicio examinaretur, silebat, tantaque perpessus non sese ulciscabatur, nec omnibus suam exhibebat deitatem. Tunc, ait, manifestè veniet et non silebit,*" &c. Which is sufficient to confirm what is said (p. 225) on Signior Mai's account of this matter.

Preface, Page xi.

I am happy to have it in my power to state, that the Rev. W. Cureton, Curator of the MS. department of the British Museum, intends to publish the Syriac versions, both of the work of Titus Bishop of Bozrah, and of the Recognitions of Clement, contained in the MS. from which our work is taken.

Preface, Page xxi.

It should seem, that the "*Eclogæ Prophetarum,*" lately published by Dr. Gaisford at Oxford, was written during the last persecution, from the passages (p. 26)..."*μη σε μην σείεσθαι τὴν πίστιν ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ καιροὺς διωγμῶν, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος,*" κ.τ.λ. And again, (*ib.*) "*Ταῦτα δὲ φαμέν, ἐπεὶ τάχα δόξειεν ἄντικρυς κατὰ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα διωγμὸν.*" And, if this be the case, it must have been written before the Council of Nice was called together. It has been shewn (p. xxxiv. note) that Eusebius does, in this work, affirm that יהוה, *Jehovah*, of the Old Testament, was THE WORD, the Christ of God, revealed in the New. What then are we to think of the assertion of Athanasius (*ib.* p. xlv.) that, up to the times of the Council of Nice, Eusebius held the opinions of Arius, denying the divinity

of the Son? And, how are we to understand Montfaucon, when he tells us (p. xxvii. Prælin. Com. in Psalmos) that the “Tetragrammon  $\text{יהוה}$ , quod passim ait in his Commentariis uni Patri competere posse; semel in Commentario itemque semel in Demonstratione Evangelica, ait Filio nonnunquam adscriptione fuisse; *accommodate* scilicet, *neque proprie*, ut alibi de Dei appellatione dictum est?” Are we to take “*accommodate*,” and “*neque proprie*,” as the genuine sentiments of Eusebius, or only, as those ascribed to him by his opponent?—Of his opponent, no doubt. How then, is this “*accommodate*” now to be understood? Our Lord appeared in the Person of Jehovah, *really* I presume (see pages xxx. xxxiv.), for I dare not suppose this could have taken place in any other way. But I will not pursue aspersions of this sort. I will only add, Eusebius must have held the proper divinity of Christ, previous to the Council of Nice, and this as fully, as he held that of Jehovah.

Page xxviii., Note.

It will be seen, from various places in the preceding work, that the the term  $\text{λογος}$ ; Syr.  $\text{ܐܠܘܡ}$ , as occasionally remarked in the Notes, is variously applied. The following is our Author’s own explanation of this term: (Eccles. Theol. Lib. II. cap. xiii. p. 120)...“*κεκληται γὰρ ὁ λογος, και ο εν τη λογικῇ ψυχῇ καταβεβλημένος, καθ’ ὃν τὸ λογίζεσθαι ἡμῖν πάρεστι· και παρὰ τοῦτον, ἕτερος, ὁ διὰ γλώττης και φωνῆς ἐνάρθρου σημαίνων τί· και κατὰ τρίτον τρόπον, ὁ διὰ γραφῆς τῷ γραφεῖ συντεταγμένος. ἤδη δὲ λόγον εἰώθαμεν καλεῖν και τὸν σπερματικὸν, ἢ φυτικόν. καθ’ ὃν δυνάμει τὰ μηδέπω φῦντα ἐναπόκειται τοῖς σπέρμασι μέλλοντα, ὅσον οὔπω της ενεργειας εἰς φως προῖεναι. και παρὰ ταῦτα ἑτέρως εἰώθασιν ὀνομάζειν λόγον, τὸν ἐπιστημονικὸν τεχνῆς τινὸς ἢ ἐπιστήμης.*” κ. τ. λ. “*Vocatur logos, id quod disponitur in anima rationali: unde contingit rationari. Est et logos secundo, quod significat aliquid, per linguam et vocem articulatam. Tertio, quod descripsit, et scribendo scriptor disposuit. Solemus et logon appellare significantem et nascentem facultatem; secundum quem dicuntur potestate esse, in seminibus illa, quæ nondum enata sunt, sed deinceps actu proditura sunt in lucem. Adhuc et alio modo, solemus logon usurpare, pro intellectiva artis alicujus, aut scientiæ facultate,*” &c. See pages 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 57, 61—3.

Page xlvi.

On the terms γενητός, γεννητός, see the Note of H. Steph. on Anaxagoras, p. 193. Edit. 1557. Also Holstein's Dissert. ii. pp. 197—8 Eccles. His. Edit. Valesii, 1695.

Page lxxii.

I was incorrect in saying, that Montfaucon thought this extract from the Seventh General Council, too contemptible to deserve his notice: the truth is, he has cited it under the title, II. Nic. Act. vi. p. 491, in his Prælim. Com. in Psalmos, p. xxvii., where, I think it cannot be doubted, Eusebius of Nicomedia must be the person really meant: the sentiments there expressed being his, and not those of our Eusebius.

Page 170.

The expression *باب الموت*, *gate-bars of Death*, is taken from Ps. cvi. 16. Gr. *μοχλούς σιδηρούς*.

Page 273.

On the interpretation of Heb. iv. 12; "*The Word of God is quick, and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword,*" see Suicer. Thes. Eccles. sub voce. Λόγος.

THE END.





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